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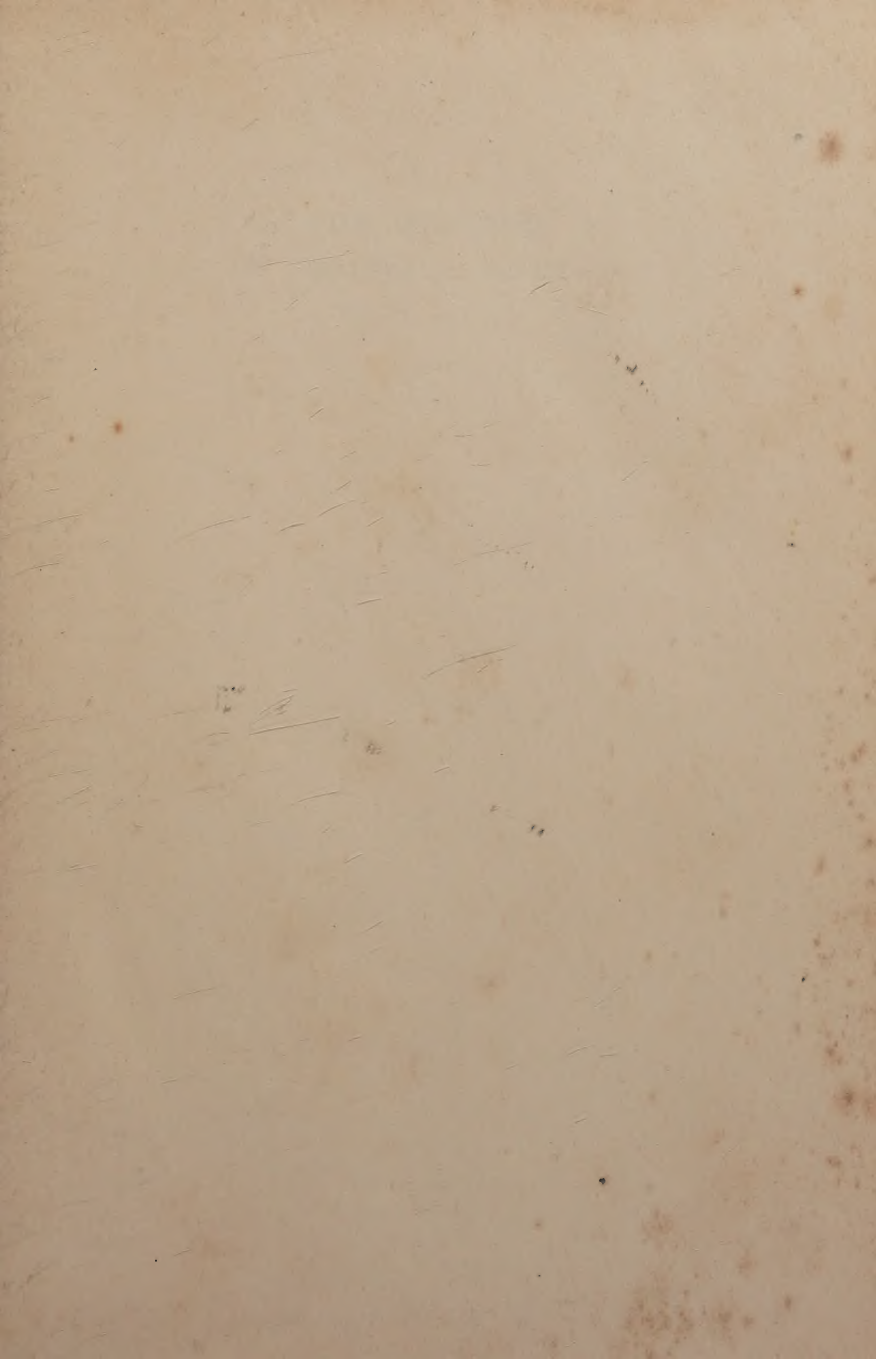
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**THE BRITISH
IN TROPICAL AFRICA**

Cambridge University Press
Fetter Lane, London

New York
Bombay, Calcutta, Madras
Toronto
Macmillan

Tokyo
Maruzen-Kabushiki-Kaisha

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THE BRITISH
IN TROPICAL AFRICA

An Historical Outline

By

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Cambridge*

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1929

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

PREFACE

FIFTY years ago our possessions in tropical Africa were limited to a few trading settlements on the West Coast. To-day the British Dependencies have an area of two and three-quarter million square miles, and are thus more than fifty times the size of England. This Empire is inhabited by some forty million natives, but its white population is no greater than that of Cambridge. For the government of these vast 'undeveloped estates' Great Britain is herself directly responsible. This lends an added interest to the history of these territories and to the gradual evolution of a new view of our responsibilities towards them and their inhabitants.

This little book is intended to give a summary, in convenient compass, of the somewhat haphazard manner in which our tropical African Empire came into being. Of monographs and local histories there are many, but still too few; yet, strange to relate, there is no recent survey of the history of these African Dependencies as a whole. Although this book is primarily intended to meet the more immediate needs of Colonial Service Probationers at the two older Universities, it is hoped that an outline of an important, though curiously neglected, phase of modern Imperial development will be of some interest to a wider circle.

The author is particularly indebted to the Right Hon. Lord Lugard for most kindly reading through his manuscript and making many extremely valuable suggestions.

IFOR L. EVANS

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Part I

Outline of African History

Chapter I

THE DARK CONTINENT

IT is a commonplace of modern history that Africa, the first of the New Worlds to be discovered by Europeans, was also the last for them to open up. Until well into the nineteenth century it remained the 'Dark Continent', difficult of access, forbidding, unknown. And yet, in the dawn of history, Phoenicians had sailed along its northern shores and had even passed beyond the Straits of Gibraltar to adventure down its western coast. In classical times, North Africa witnessed the rise and fall of Carthage, and was, for a space, united under the dominion of Imperial Rome. Its civilization could bring forth lawyers and orators, with an Emperor like Septimius Severus, and saints like Augustine and Tertullian. The whole of North Africa seemed to have entered into the orbit of Mediterranean culture: and all the while Egypt, cradle of ancient civilizations, continued to attract the newer peoples of Southern Europe, Romans and Greeks alike. But while the spirit of the Mediterranean gradually spread amongst the barbarians of Northern and Western Europe, North Africa was cut off completely from the rest of the African Continent by the vast expanses of the Sahara. Its land routes lay East and West; Egypt was a mere prolongation of Asia, and a highway for the virile peoples of the East. When Islam came to

give the pirates and slave raiders of Arabia a new energy and purpose, Egypt soon passed into their hands (A.D. 640). Pushing on ever westwards, these invaders succeeded in establishing their hegemony over the Berber country by the beginning of the eighth century, and then led their turbulent subjects across the narrow straits into Spain and Western Europe. Their signal defeat at Poitiers (732), which saved France for Christendom, also dealt a deathblow to Arab rule amongst the Berbers in North Africa; but Islam remained, and with it the gulf between Europe and Africa was made wider and more difficult to cross.

The essence of African history is its isolation. In the North, where contact with the main trend of world affairs was broken by Moslem hegemony, there followed centuries of empire-making and empire-destroying which, for the most part, had but little effect on the rest of the Continent. North Africa can perhaps be best regarded as the western outpost of Asia. Elsewhere the historical development of the African peoples is dominated to an even greater degree by geography. Taken as a whole, the coastline is remarkably short in comparison with the total area of the Continent.* It runs in long and almost straight lines where harbours, more particularly in the West, are, for the most part, conspicuous by their absence, and where there are singularly few islands to serve as stepping-off places

* In Europe there is approximately one mile of coast to every three hundred square miles of territory; in North America, one to every four hundred; and in Africa, only one to every eleven hundred.

for inland penetration. The inaccessibility of the Continent is intensified by the fact that the river network is far from good. Many of the African rivers are mere watercourses for a great part of each year. Others, like the Congo and the Niger, pass over cataracts before they reach the sea; and many of the great rivers have bars at their mouths which, together with shifting sands, make navigation most difficult. Unlike the other Continents, the sea thus separates Africa from the rest of the world. It has been its destiny to live behind the barrier of its coast: it is the most continental of all the Continents.

The isolation of Africa has been intensified still further by its climate. Before the advent of modern research in tropical medicine and hygiene, large parts of the Continent were indeed a 'white man's grave'. But its climate has not only staved off invaders from without, it has also dominated the historical evolution of its peoples from within. The African native, as has been well said, is a man of the forest, the savannah or the desert: here, more than anywhere else, the geographical milieu in which he lives has held man captive and determined his mode of life.

Clearly marked natural frontiers are on the whole lacking, and this fact has inevitably retarded the development of well-defined political units. Over large areas of Africa the natives have never succeeded in developing far beyond the limits of the tribe. In the broad open spaces of the Sudan, a corridor stretching from East to West across the Continent and assuring

a certain mobility of population, mushroom empires have indeed risen and fallen. But it is in the survival of peoples rather than in the, for the most part unwritten, chronicles of successive dynasties that the real story of the Continent must be sought. Until quite recent times African history thus falls within the province of the ethnologist and the archaeologist rather than within that of the historian proper.

We shall therefore confine ourselves to giving a general outline of European penetration into tropical Africa, but before doing so, it will be well to say a few words on that other great factor of modern African history, the spread of Islam. In the tenth century the Shia sect made great headway in the North: it was at once a political and a religious movement: and the Fatimite Empire spread through Egypt into Syria, driving the Arabs before it. This was followed by a return of the virile tribes of the desert (the so-called 'Hilalian' invasion), and Morocco soon remained the last bulwark of independent Berber rule. It was a period of ferment which, in the early years of the eleventh century, was to witness a great revival in the proselytizing zeal of the followers of the Prophet. Starting from Morocco, Islam spread to the banks of the Senegal, and a Berber confederation was established over the sand dunes of Mauretania. In 1033 one of the local chiefs, Yayia ben Ibrahim, made a pilgrimage to Mecca and discovered how little he knew of the real teachings of the Prophet. Returning to his native land, he entered with true missionary zeal upon

a movement of religious revival. Unable at first to make much impression upon his fellow-countrymen, he retired with a few faithful disciples to a hermitage (*ribat*) on an island in the Senegal River. These Almoravides (*al morabetin*, men of the hermitage), as they were called, soon attracted large numbers of zealous missionaries and warriors to their midst, and the new sect expanded northwards into Spain and southwards into the Sudan. The Empire of Ghana, which appears to have been established between the Upper Senegal and the Niger in the fourth century A.D. and is the oldest native political formation known to the historian, passed under the sway of Islam. The ruling classes seem to have accepted the new religion with alacrity and its tenets spread so far afield as Bornu, on the confines of Lake Chad. Paganism of course survived amongst great masses of the scattered population of the Sudan, but this did not prevent Islam from establishing itself as the dominant political force in the West African hinterland. Meanwhile empires rose and fell and puritanic outbursts continued to be made for centuries against the all too prevalent abuses in religion and morals.

In addition to this penetration of North and West Africa by way of the land route leading from Arabia into Egypt, the doctrines of the Prophet also made their way at a very early date into the coastlands of East Africa. From time immemorial the monsoons had favoured the activities of the merchants and pirates of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf over the

wide expanses of the Indian Ocean. Here again Islam gave new life and vigour to the peoples of the Middle East, who established large numbers of trading posts on the East African littoral. Their petty sultanates were essentially commercial, in nature as in origin, resembling, in many ways, the Greek city colonies of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. By the early years of the eleventh century, the Sultanate of Kilwa appears to have established some sort of hegemony over its rivals, though its rule was not undisputed and local conflicts remained unchecked. Slaves formed the principal article of commerce, and this fact combined with the difficulties of inland penetration inherent in the geography of East Africa to confine the activities of the Arabs to the coastline proper. There were no vast inland empires as in the North and the West, and the process of Islamization was restricted within very narrow limits in consequence. The Arab intruders of the East Coast were primarily interested in the country for its exports to their Asiatic fatherland, and not for its own sake; but, so far as it went, their influence was merely one disruptive factor the more in African history.

Before the advent of the European, Islam had thus made considerable inroads into the African Continent. The Mediterranean littoral had passed completely under its sway: it had penetrated far across the vast tracts of the Western Sudan: and its adherents dominated much of the eastern coastline. The great equatorial forests, however, had called a halt to further

expansion. Here life remained primitive and, as yet, but little known, while South Africa, too, was completely cut off from the broad movements of world history. From the European point of view, the rule of Islam was long to prove almost as effective a barrier to penetration as the inherent factors of geography: it intensified the isolation of the African Continent. And yet contact with Islam provided the initial stimulus to the advance of Europe into the New Worlds beyond the seas.

Portugal was the first of the Iberian countries to free itself from the Saracen invader. By the middle of the thirteenth century its national independence was assured: a hundred and fifty years later it was preparing to carry war into the enemy's country. The new counter-offensive of Europe against Islam, fought on African soil, began with the capture of Ceuta in 1415.

The transition from medieval to modern history was a period of striving after the unknown: Europe was coming of age. In literature and art the treasures of classical culture were being discovered anew: in science and in politics, no less than in religion, it was an age of inquiry. The stage was slowly being set for geographical discovery on a vast scale: Western Europe was outgrowing its limits. Something of this spirit of adventure permeated the Portuguese invaders, and none of them more than Dom Henrique, the Iffante, who had been present in person at the taking of Ceuta and was now its Governor. From the 'Saracens' of North Africa he had heard tales of a

wonderful land, the Empire of Ghana, rich in treasure and of untold resources. To the medieval in him this offered a splendid opportunity for a new crusade: Ghana should become a Christian Dependency of Portugal under the rule of the Military Order of Jesus Christ. This might prove an expensive undertaking, but the 'Saracen' monopoly of trade could be broken and slaves acquired direct. The enterprise might thus be made self-supporting and even yield a surplus: it would in any event redound to the greater glory of God and to the prestige and power of Portugal.

In 1426 these schemes of Henry, known to history as the 'Navigator'—though he himself seems never actually to have navigated—began to be put into operation. Little by little the Portuguese caravels made their way down the West Coast. In 1434 Cape Bojador (the 'Bulging') was doubled, while Cape Verde was rounded eleven years later. The inhospitable nature of the coast made progress slow, but Henry's encouragement was never lacking and, by the year of his death (1460), his intrepid mariners had arrived at a point about midway between the mouth of the Gambia and the Sierra Leone River. The traffic in slaves had not proved as remunerative as had been hoped, since these expatriated Africans were unsuccessful as labourers in Portugal. In its place a commerce in gold and ivory soon became predominant. The inland Empire of *Ghana*, famed in Arab chronicle, remained as far away as ever, though its capital gave its name to the *Guinea* Coast, which now became

accessible to Europeans for what was probably the first time in history. Grants of the Guinea trade were awarded from time to time by the Portuguese Crown and were for the most part dependent upon further exploration being undertaken by the beneficiaries. In 1471 the Equator was crossed and the mouth of the Congo was reached thirteen years later, but by this time the original objects of Portuguese activities had been considerably modified. The medieval crusading ideal had given place to the more modern idea of trade and commerce, while, in place of the conquest of a province, the new civilization of Western Europe was striving to establish contact with the older civilizations of the East. Before the end of the fifteenth century this objective had been partly attained. Bartholomeo Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1486 without at first knowing he had done so, but proved thereby that the African coast did not extend indefinitely to the South. Vasco da Gama followed him round the Cape and made his way up the East Coast to Mombasa, where he learned the secret of the monsoon from the Arab traders. He succeeded in reaching Calicut in 1497. Thus, five years after Columbus discovered America, the Portuguese established direct contact with India. The main outline of the African coastline had now been established and the Continent acquired a new importance for Europeans, not, however, for its own sake, but rather as the guardian of the sea route to the East.

The Portuguese, as the first comers, had a great

initial advantage over all the other nations of Europe in African trade. Their efforts were now concentrated on maintaining the monopoly which had been conferred upon them by papal bull. But the country was too small for the colossal task it had undertaken: in addition to its trading settlements on the African coast, of which the castle of Elmina (1482) was the first to be established, Portugal acquired possessions in India and the East, while its energies were soon absorbed in ever-increasing measure by the Colony of Brazil. Down to the middle of the sixteenth century its supremacy in these vast territories was not seriously challenged, but the Protestant countries of Northern Europe could not be held in check by papal grants, and English and Dutch alike began to claim a place in the sun. The prestige of Portugal at home was badly shaken in 1580, when the mother country lost its independence and, during the sixty years of Spanish rule which followed, considerable inroads were made upon its colonial preserves beyond the seas. The earliest recorded English voyage to West Africa was undertaken in 1553, but a still more formidable rival appeared in 1595, when the first Dutch ship visited these waters. The opening years of the seventeenth century witnessed a serious menace to Portuguese hegemony, for the newcomers began to build factories on the coast and Portugal was quite unable to prevent them. In 1618, the British founded Fort James on the Gambia River, while the Dutch multiplied their settlements on the Gold Coast and, in 1637, actually succeeded in captur-

ing Elmina, the principal Portuguese fort in West Africa. On the East Coast too, where Portuguese rule over the Arab trading colonies had been established soon after Vasco da Gama's first voyage to India, their power was soon to be dangerously circumscribed until finally, in 1698, the Imam of Muscat sent a naval force across the Indian Ocean and drove them out for ever. For close on two centuries the Arabs of Muscat and Zanzibar were destined to form an effective barrier to European penetration along this part of the African coast.

By the end of the seventeenth century the African dominions of Portugal had thus been seriously reduced: scattered settlements in Angola and Mozambique were almost all that was left to a Power that had once established its claim to the whole of the African littoral. The centre of political gravity had shifted from Southern to North-Western Europe and colonial rivalries were entering on a new phase. Moreover, the expansion of Europe in the American Continent had also introduced a new element into African history. The growth of plantations on the mainland and, above all, in the West Indian Islands, led to a great demand for labour, which could not be met by the aboriginal inhabitants. It was found, however, that the natives of Africa were strong and well adapted to the climate and that, once enslaved, they could easily be shipped across the ocean to the New World. There thus sprang up a trade in slaves in the sixteenth century which increased greatly in the seventeenth, and finally

reached its climax in the eighteenth century. While the hinterland of West Africa acquired a new value as a vast preserve for human game, there ensued a period of the keenest rivalry amongst the Powers of Western Europe for a share in the odious traffic. The Dutch had succeeded in supplanting the Portuguese, whose claim to a monopoly of African trade they attempted to enforce in their turn. They were faced, however, with the strongest opposition by the British on the Gold Coast, while British and French struggled for supremacy in the coastlands lying between the Senegal and the Gambia. These European rivalries dominated the African stage during the second half of the seventeenth century. Holland, however, was handicapped, like Portugal before her, by the limited nature of her resources in comparison with her vast ambitions in four Continents, while her situation in Europe, where she was engaged in a life and death struggle with France, compelled her to come to terms with England, her most serious competitor. In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession, also marked the emergence of this country as a dominant colonial Power. By one of its clauses the Asiento, or contract for the annual delivery of four thousand eight hundred African negroes to Spanish America for a period of thirty years, was given to an English Company. If the importance of the Asiento in itself has often been exaggerated, it is none the less true that it is a significant landmark in the history of British commercial expansion. For the rest of the

eighteenth century this country held the lead in the Slave Trade and the foundations of the prosperity of the port of Liverpool were laid at the expense of the happiness and wellbeing of West Africa. It should, however, be added that slavery, and, with it, the Slave Trade, were indigenous to Africa. The advent of the European merely made confusion worse confounded. This traffic was now conducted on a vast scale: it has been estimated that, between 1680 and 1786, the English alone carried over two million negroes across the Atlantic. It shook native society to its very foundations, and has left its mark on all the British Colonies. Above all, it added one barrier the more to European penetration into the hinterland. Although forts and factories were multiplied on the coast, inland expansion remained practically unthought of. The history of West Africa during this period was dominated by that of the West Indies and the American mainland.

If Great Britain was the principal offender in this question of the Slave Trade, she was also the first country to realize the inhuman nature of the traffic which had proved so profitable to her. In the latter half of the eighteenth century there arose a storm of protest from certain leaders of the evangelical party, which was fast growing in influence in this country. Granville Sharp had early interested himself in the lot of slaves brought from the American Colonies to Great Britain, and was instrumental in obtaining, in 1772, the famous judgment of Lord Mansfield that all slaves

became free when once they set foot on British soil. Associated with him in this humanitarian movement were two Cambridge graduates—Thomas Clarkson, who wrote an arresting thesis against slavery, and the great reformer, William Wilberforce. In 1787 these men and their sympathizers founded the ‘Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade’, though their propagandist activities met with very strong opposition, based on the fear of commercial injury and the risk of unfair foreign competition which it was thought would ensue to this country if the reformers were successful. In the same year a ‘Committee for the Black Poor’ was formed with the object of returning emancipated negroes to Africa.* Far-reaching reforms of this type could not be brought about in a day, and the first experiments in colonization proved most discouraging. Undaunted by early disappointments and the opposition which they aroused, the little band of philanthropists continued their agitation and slowly but surely the conscience of civilized mankind responded to their call. In 1802 Denmark led the way by forbidding the Slave Trade to its nationals. The victory was almost won when first Great Britain (1807) and then the United States (1808) followed suit. While many years were to elapse before the principal nations could be induced to collaborate in the active suppression of the traffic, a blow had been struck at the Slave Trade from which it never recovered. The

* Some account of their work in Sierra Leone will be found in chap. iv, *infra*.

abolitionists, however, reinforced by men of the calibre of Thomas Fowell Buxton and Lord Brougham, did not rest content until the institution of slavery itself had been abolished. Here Great Britain led the way in 1833 with an Emancipation Bill which brought about the final abolition of slavery in all British colonies* within seven years, and cost this country twenty million pounds by way of compensation to the planters. Our example was followed by France in 1848, by Holland in 1863, and by the United States in 1865. In this manner the European demand for slaves outside Africa definitely came to an end, and, though the Slave Trade still continued on the East Coast and in the interior of the country, its days were numbered. An historic wrong had at last been righted and the dawn of a new period in African history was at hand.

* Though not in countries under British protection, which were not technically British soil.

Chapter II

EXPLORATION AND EMPIRE

THE eighteenth century was an age of rationalism. Traditional views and practices were being examined anew in the light of reason. It is not surprising, therefore, that the period of the French philosophers and of the English Industrial Revolution should also have witnessed the application of scientific principles to geographical exploration, and that the interior of Africa should have begun to be an object of curiosity in Western Europe. Yet the first of the great explorers was a somewhat sentimental Scot, James Bruce, who, between 1768 and 1773, undertook the dangers and difficulties of a journey from Egypt into Abyssinia and the valley of the Blue Nile, in order to seek consolation for the death of his wife. His description of his adventures aroused considerable interest in England, where the African Association, which was later to become the Royal Geographical Society, was founded in 1788. Rumours had long been current that there existed a large river in West Africa (the Niger), and that somewhere on its banks stood the legendary city of Timbuktu. With a view to investigating the truth of these assertions and to establishing the course of the great river itself the African Association enlisted the services of a young Scots surgeon named Mungo Park. He set out alone

on his first journey from the Gambia in 1795 and, after enduring untold hardships, succeeded in crossing the Upper Senegal and reaching Sego on the Niger. He unfortunately failed to visit Timbuktu, and although the existence of the Niger was now proven beyond all doubt, its course still remained a matter of conjecture. The interest of the British Government had, however, been aroused and, in 1805, Mungo Park set out under its auspices on a new expedition into the interior. This time he was in command of a considerable body of Europeans, but most of them died before the Niger was reached. The survivors built a boat and began their journey down-stream, Park being convinced the while that they would finally come out at the mouth of the Congo. They reached the rapids at Boussa, in what is now Northern Nigeria: here they were attacked by hostile natives and were all drowned. Thus ended the first great expedition from the West Coast into the African hinterland.

The next attempts were made from the North. In 1823 another journey was undertaken with the assistance of the British Government, when Oudney, Clapperton and Denham set out from Tripoli to cross the Sahara. Denham succeeded in reaching Lake Chad and returned in safety to the Mediterranean. In 1825 they were followed by Major Laing, who travelled from Tripoli to Timbuktu, but was killed soon after leaving that city. Two years later the French explorer Caillé also reached Timbuktu, and was the first European who returned to tell the tale. The problem

of the Niger remained unsolved until 1830, when Lander, who had accompanied Clapperton as his servant when he crossed the Sahara, went inland from the neighbourhood of Lagos as far as Boussa, where Mungo Park had met his death, and came down the lower river in a canoe. He was able to show that the Oil Rivers, which had long been known to Europeans, were none other than the delta of the Niger. Thanks to the work of these pioneers, the main outlines of the geography of West Africa had now been ascertained, though much further information was gained as the result of the journeys of Heinrich Barth of Hamburg. In 1850 this great scientific explorer set out from Tripoli under the auspices of the British Government and journeyed for six years in the Western Sudan. He went to Timbuktu and the Lake Chad district and did invaluable work in geography and philology. His monumental volumes remain a classic on almost all subjects connected with the life and organization of the countries which he visited.

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, African exploration had been undertaken almost exclusively from the North and from the West. From this time onwards, however, interest is concentrated primarily upon expeditions working from the South and from the East. While great attention is still paid to the scientific aspects of geographical discovery, this feature is henceforward reinforced by humanitarian considerations. The sea-borne traffic in slaves from the West Coast had almost come to an end, thanks to the

vigilance of the British navy. In the interior, however, the Slave Trade had received a new lease of life under the leadership of Arab raiders from the East Coast, and many people agreed with Livingstone in thinking that nothing much could be done to check it until the hinterland had been discovered and the way prepared for European penetration. The vast uncharted regions of Central and Eastern Africa therefore claimed most attention. Within the next twenty-five years the problem of the principal rivers—the Zambezi, the Nile and the Congo—was taken in hand, and their relation to the great lakes of East Africa, of which missionaries had reported at second hand, was established beyond all doubt.

David Livingstone (1813-1873) was probably the greatest of all African explorers. He began life as a mill boy, but then studied medicine at Glasgow and was accepted by the London Missionary Society for work in Africa. In 1841 he settled in Bechuanaland. He was, however, a born traveller and, in his first ten years of residence on the frontiers of South Africa, had already discovered Lake Ngami and reached the Zambezi near its junction with the Chobe. After a brief respite in England he returned once again to the Upper Zambezi and undertook his first great journey (1852-1856). At the outset of his career as an explorer he gave proof of his remarkable understanding of native psychology. The Makololo of the Upper Zambezi were not the only African people who venerated him as their friend and adviser, though to none was

Livingstone himself more devoted. Their assistance was certainly of the greatest value to him during this first journey. From their country he crossed to Angola (1854), returning again to the Zambezi. He then continued down the river to its mouth at Quelimane (1856), discovering the Victoria Falls on the way. He was thus the first European to cross Africa from West to East. When he returned home, the significance of his work was at once recognized and he determined that exploration should henceforward be his great immediate aim in life. He therefore severed his official connection with the London Missionary Society and went back to Zambezia as a Consular Agent of the British Government. In this second journey (1858-1864) he was accompanied by Dr John Kirk, the naturalist, who afterwards performed yeoman service for the Empire as Political Agent at Zanzibar. Starting from the East Coast they explored the Shiré River and discovered Lake Nyasa, collecting much valuable information on the natural history and the geography of these hitherto unknown lands.

The 'fifties and 'sixties also witnessed spectacular discoveries in another part of the Continent. In 1854 Richard Burton had made his first appearance on the East African stage with a journey to Somaliland. Two years later he was sent out by the Royal Geographical Society of London to explore the Great Lakes. He was accompanied by John Hanning Speke, and together they discovered Lake Tanganyika. Burton was here taken ill, and instructed Speke to push on and in-

investigate the truth of rumours as to the existence of a great lake further to the North. Speke did so, and discovered Victoria Nyanza. Instead, however, of returning to join his leader, he rushed back to England and declared that he had found the source of the Nile. This led to a most unpleasant disagreement between the two explorers. In 1860 Speke was sent out again, with Captain Grant, by the Royal Geographical Society to ascertain once and for all whether his theory as to the source of the Nile was correct. This time he made a spectacular journey from Zanzibar across the northern part of what is now the Tanganyika territory to the south end of Victoria Nyanza. From this point he proceeded to the kingdom of Buganda, of whose customs he has much of interest to record, and then pushed on to Gondokoro, where he was relieved by (Sir) Samuel Baker, who had worked up the Nile from the North. Speke reached Khartum in 1864 and proceeded homewards by way of Egypt, having solved for all time one of the most disputed problems of African geography. Baker, meanwhile, advanced southwards from Gondokoro and discovered the Albert Nyanza, the existence of which Speke, in his haste, had not stopped to establish.

The two great problems which now remained to be solved were (1) whether the Nile or some other river connected the Nyanzas with the southern lakes; (2) whether this water system was in any way connected with the Congo basin. The first was taken in hand by Livingstone in his third and last journey

(1866-1873). From the southern end of Lake Nyasa he went to Lake Tanganyika; then, striking westwards, he discovered Lake Mweru and proceeded by way of the River Luapula to Lake Bangweolo. Here he met a number of Arab traders whom he accompanied as far as Nyangwe on the River Lualaba. His long sojourn in the heart of Africa and the complete absence of news as to his whereabouts led the *New York Herald* to organize a relief expedition, under the leadership of Henry Morton Stanley. They finally succeeded in meeting Livingstone at Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika and induced him to return with them to Zanzibar. When half-way towards the coast, however, the veteran traveller decided to turn westwards once again and complete his programme of exploration. He actually managed to reach Lake Bangweolo, but was taken ill and died (1873). Thus passed from the stage one of the noblest and greatest men who ever worked for the welfare of the peoples of Africa. He was beloved of all, and the touching devotion of his servants to his dead body, which they embalmed as best they could and brought to the East Coast, provides in itself a fitting commentary on the magnetism of his personality. The immediate work he had taken in hand was destined soon to be completed. A relief expedition, sent out by the Royal Geographical Society under Lovett Cameron, failed to save Livingstone, but proceeded to map Lake Tanganyika and then crossed to the Lualaba, which was practically identified with the Congo. This hypothesis was, in its

turn, substantiated by another expedition, under H. M. Stanley, which was equipped by the *New York Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph* with the avowed object of completing Livingstone's life work. After circumnavigating first the Victoria Nyanza and then Lake Tanganyika, Stanley sailed down the Lualaba and the Congo, and finally emerged on the Atlantic coast in 1877.

By the middle 'seventies the principal facts of African geography had thus been revealed to the European public. The main purpose of these explorations was scientific and humanitarian rather than political. Although most of the great discoveries had been made by men of British blood, their activities were followed with the keenest interest by the whole civilized world. Explorations had been undertaken first of all from the West and the North, and then from the South and the East, until at last the main outline of the rivers and lakes of Africa had been made known. The 'Dark Continent' was forced to yield up its secrets one by one: the age of isolation was soon to pass away for ever.

At long last, interest was beginning to be taken in Africa for its own sake. The civilized world awoke slowly to the growing importance of tropical products, such as vegetable oils, which the 'Dark Continent' could supply in abundance. The progressive industrialization of Western Europe, with its demand for new raw materials and its need of wider markets, is the final factor in the passing of African isolation.

Dominant tendencies such as these, however, are not always seen in true perspective at the time. A factor of more obvious immediate importance was the political situation in Europe during the years following the Franco-Prussian War. Defeated at home, France came to turn to the Colonies as a means of restoring the balance of power. Her African possessions in 1815 were limited to a few trading stations near the mouth of the Senegal. Fifteen years later she established herself in Algiers, the old home of the Barbary corsairs who had wrought such havoc to Mediterranean shipping; by 1847 the conquest of Algeria was virtually complete. During the reign of Napoleon III, French influence was extended southwards to the Sahara, while, from about 1855 onwards, vast new possessions were acquired in the Senegal hinterland. By the 'seventies, then, the foundations of the modern French Empires of North and West Africa had already been laid. While France was expanding, British interest in these parts had fallen to vanishing point. A Parliamentary Committee of 1865 even went so far as to regard complete withdrawal from the whole of the West African coast, with the possible exception of Sierra Leone, as the goal ultimately to be aimed at. The French had thus profited by the absence of any serious rivals: in the first stages of inland expansion in West Africa they had the field to themselves.

In the late 'seventies the main work of African exploration had been completed. Before twenty more

years had elapsed, the greater part of the Continent had been partitioned out amongst the principal European Powers. The speed with which this 'Scramble for Africa' was effected stands in marked contrast to the indifference with which Europe had regarded the hinterland for so many centuries. Feverish activity is the dominant characteristic of the latest phase in the history of European penetration into Africa. A further point to be stressed at the outset is the fact that these European rivalries were ultimately composed by peaceful means. The Powers came to agree that the new colonial scramble should be conducted according to fairly well-defined rules. They worked out, as a French writer has put it, what was virtually a new code of International Law for Africa.

The game really started in earnest in the early 'eighties, and the first protagonist of note was Leopold of the Belgians who seems to have realized that there was money to be made in tropical Africa. In 1876 he convened a meeting at Brussels which led to the formation of the International African Association, with himself as its President. Its early expeditions did not, however, prove successful, but in 1878 Leopold met H. M. Stanley, who had just returned from his journey of discovery in the Congo basin. The great explorer was won over by the King, whose chief ambition seemed to be the opening up of these vast areas on an international basis. The 'Comité des Études du Haut Congo' was founded in the same year and Stanley went out to Africa as its representative. Between

1879 and 1884 he concluded a series of treaties with native chiefs and founded a number of trading posts. He was Governor of the Congo in all but name, and when he resigned in 1884 his place was taken by yet another British subject, Sir Francis de Winton. In the same year the 'Comité' was re-formed, under the name of the 'International Association of the Congo'. It is well to emphasize the international character of these early enterprises in the Congo basin and to bear in mind that much of the pioneer work was done by Englishmen. They found an outlet for their energies in this part of tropical Africa at a time when the Home Government took but little interest in colonial affairs.

These early activities of Leopold and his lieutenants soon led to complications with other European Powers. Portugal, in particular, asserted a prior claim to the Congo mouth, which was recognized in the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1884, on condition that freedom of navigation should be guaranteed under the supervision of a joint commission to be set up by the two Powers. This solution met with almost universal disapproval. The International Association had already established itself at the Congo mouth, and the historic claims of Portugal had not been reinforced by any effective occupation. Moreover, the explorations of de Brazza (1875-1882), which had been endorsed by the French Parliament, gave France a footing on the northern bank of the Middle Congo. The problem thus called for international regulation, and Portugal,

realizing the opposition which existed to the treaty she had concluded with England, negotiated with France and Germany and asked for a Conference to settle the points at issue.

The international position of Germany at this time was one of the very greatest importance. The strongest of the military Powers of Europe, she was, albeit rather late in the day, at last beginning to take an interest in colonial expansion. Profiting by the inactivity of Great Britain, she had already declared a Protectorate over Togoland, the Cameroons and South-West Africa (1884). It was natural, therefore, that the initiative should pass into her hands, and Bismarck convened a Conference to meet in Berlin in November, 1884.

The discussions of this first international gathering summoned especially to deal with African problems led to the signature, in February, 1885, of a General Act which introduced a number of important principles as to the modalities of European penetration. The International Association of the Congo had been recognized by all the Powers, and its boundaries had been fixed in agreements with Germany, France and Portugal. At the Berlin Conference the neutrality of its territory was solemnly affirmed and placed under international protection. In addition, the principle of freedom of trade for all comers was agreed upon for the Congo basin and certain other territories extending to the Indian Ocean, while freedom of navigation was likewise assured on both the Congo and the Niger.

Throughout these lands the transport of slaves was solemnly forbidden. Finally, the signatory Powers undertook, when occupying new territory, to notify the fact to the other signatories and thus give them an opportunity of asserting any prior claims of their own, while it was agreed that, so far at least as the coastline was concerned, occupation, to be regarded as valid, must be effective.

The principal result of the Berlin Conference was thus the regulation of the status of the territories under the International Association of the Congo, which were soon transformed into the Congo Free State (August, 1885), with Leopold as its sovereign. As the years went by, however, the international character of this State receded more and more into the background until it was finally annexed by Belgium in 1908.

On the more general questions of administration and freedom of trade the terms of the Berlin Conference remained to a very large extent inoperative, since no proper machinery had been set up for their enforcement. Leopold's later rule was indeed characterized by the ruthless exploitation of the economic resources of his African territories, without any particular regard to the welfare of the natives. The general principle of co-operation on certain aspects of native policy was, nevertheless, taken a stage further by the Conference of Brussels (1890), which agreed upon measures for putting down the Slave Trade and for prohibiting the traffic in liquor and fire-

arms in tropical Africa. Even if their enforcement were a matter of no little difficulty, something at least was gained by the solemn enunciation of these important principles.

The years immediately following the Berlin Conference witnessed the partition of almost all that remained of the African Continent amongst the principal Colonial Powers of Europe. The claims of Great Britain in this 'Scramble' were, however, upheld by a number of newly organized commercial interests rather than by the Government. Nevertheless, the granting of Royal Charters to the Niger Company (1886), the Imperial British East Africa Company (1888) and the British South Africa Company (1889) implied a certain element of official responsibility which the Government was, ultimately, though somewhat reluctantly, obliged to shoulder. The activities of Sir George Taubman Goldie and his agents saved the Nigerian hinterland from the French and, in 1900, the territories of the Royal Niger Company passed to the Crown. In East Africa, Sir William Mackinnon came to terms with the Sultan of Zanzibar, and the work accomplished by his Company gave Great Britain prior claims to Kenya and Uganda, which were recognized by our greatest rival in East Africa in the Anglo-German Treaty of 1890. As a commercial proposition, however, the British East Africa Company was not a success, and it was bought out by the Government in 1895. In South Africa, again, Cecil Rhodes, inspired by a vision of empire and able to call upon

immense financial reserves, organized the northward march of British expansion and drove a wedge between the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. Portugal was forced to accept the *fait accompli*, as she had entirely failed to link up her coastal possessions on the Atlantic with those on the Indian Ocean, and, by the Treaty of 1891, renounced all her claims to Nyasaland and the Rhodesias. The former became a Protectorate of the British Crown, but company rule was maintained over the latter territories for over thirty years.

Whatever criticisms may be levied against the rule of Chartered Companies—and it is clear that the principle of entrusting governmental functions to a trading organization cannot be altogether free from suspicion—it must nevertheless be admitted that the work of men like Goldie, MacKinnon and Rhodes added vast territories to the Empire at a time when the Home Government was unwilling, if not unable, to undertake such responsibilities itself. To them therefore is due, in no small measure, the undoubted advantages of the establishment of the *pax Britannica* over wide areas of the African Continent, and if the administrations they set up were not always free from certain serious defects, the same can also be said of many other pioneer governments, British and foreign alike, in the early days of African colonization. It is clear, however, that company rule is only a transition stage: a great nation cannot for ever rule an empire by proxy.

Before the end of the nineteenth century the partition of tropical Africa was virtually complete. The special position acquired by Great Britain in Egypt in 1882 made conditions in the Upper Nile valley a matter of the greatest importance to this country, while the death of General Gordon was the prelude to a period of anarchy and devastation in the Sudan which had serious repercussions upon Egypt itself. Finally, therefore, Lord Kitchener fought the battle of Omdurman and recaptured Khartum in 1898. This active forward policy called a halt to French expansion from the West, and the firm attitude adopted by this country towards the Fashoda incident made possible the establishment of an Anglo-Egyptian condominium over the Eastern Sudan. This came not a moment too soon, for the defeat of the Italians by the Abyssinians at Adua in 1896 had seriously diminished European prestige in North-East Africa. Indeed, while the Somali Coast, which was divided in the 'eighties between Italy, France and Great Britain, has remained in European hands, Abyssinia is still an independent State and has even become a member of the League of Nations.

This brief survey of the thirty crowded years that separate the Berlin Conference from the outbreak of the World War has taken no account of the expansion of the French and Italians in North Africa—events which for a moment loomed so large on the stage of European history—nor of the remarkable developments in the South, which culminated in the founda-

tion of the Union of South Africa (1909) and the formation of a great Anglo-Dutch Dominion in the southern seas. We have been concerned rather with the tangled story of the tropical territories: vast areas isolated for thousands of years from the rest of the world and now forced at lightning speed into contact with the civilization of contemporary Europe. The partition of Africa is, after all, but the balancing of the claims of certain European Powers amongst themselves. That these claims were based upon rights acquired in due form from native chieftains may be an important consideration at International Law. That the native chiefs themselves had, for the most part, but little understanding of their real significance is, however, an even more vital consideration for the historian. When Europe partitioned Africa, it acquired economic interests of the greatest potential value, but it was also forced to undertake, often in spite of itself, certain grave responsibilities towards millions of natives who, whether they would or no, had come under its dominion. Partition implied some measure of administration, and that by rulers who knew but little of the mentality of the governed.

When the colonizing Powers first attempted to establish 'law and order' in the territories which had been recognized as coming under their rule, they frequently met with considerable opposition on the part of the natives. The maintenance of armed forces added to the expenses of government and also stressed the importance of better transport facilities. Revenue

naturally depended to a very large extent upon foreign trade, and this again called for the 'easy conveyance of men and things from one place to another'. The construction of railway trunk lines was therefore taken in hand quite early, more especially in the British dependencies. The line from the Cape reached Bulawayo, 1360 miles distant, by 1897, and connections had been made with Salisbury and Beira five years later. In the North, a railway was built with amazing rapidity in conjunction with the advance of Kitchener's army up the Nile. This line ran from Wadi Halfa, on the Egyptian frontier, to Khartum, 578 miles farther South, and was opened in 1899, while the capital of the Sudan obtained direct access to the sea at Port Sudan seven years later. The advent of the British in East Africa also necessitated better communications between the coast and the interior, and the construction of the so-called 'Uganda Railway', from Mombasa to Kisumu on Victoria Nyanza (587 miles), was completed in 1902. The Germans, too, realized the importance of improved transport facilities, but it was not until 1914 that their line from Dar-es-Salaam reached Lake Tanganyika, 772 miles away. In West Africa the first great trunk line from Iddo (opposite Lagos) was begun in 1896, and finally reached Kano, 700 miles inland, in 1912. These principal railway arteries were supplemented by others as the years went by. The outline which has already been given will, however, suffice to show the rapidity with which these new highways were driven inland

from South, North, East and West. Over large areas of the African Continent primitive society advanced from the conditions of the self-sufficing village community to those of the railway age within a single decade. Side by side with this development of transport facilities we naturally find an enormous increase in the volume of foreign trade and government revenue. Recent figures for the four Colonies of British West Africa give some idea of the revolutionary nature of the change.

Years	Millions sterling	
	Annual average of imports and exports	Annual average of government revenue
1896-1900	6.3	0.8
1901-1905	9.7	1.7
1906-1910	16.3	2.9
1911-1914	26.4	4.8
1919-1923	42.3	10.0

It will be seen that, in less than thirty years, the foreign trade of these dependencies has increased nearly sevenfold, while government revenue is more than twelve times what it was in the late 'nineties. Even when allowance has been made for changes in the value of money, this rate of growth is almost startling in its magnitude. The 'Dark Continent' is beginning to take its place in world trade.

This, then, is the most recent phase of African history—an age of railways and roads, of increasing

foreign trade. Expansion in the economic sphere has, however, brought with it new problems of administration. Communications have profoundly modified the tribal organization of native society, and the European Governments are being forced to take account of the change. Since the War, Germany is no longer an African Power, as her territories have been divided amongst the victorious Allies—Great Britain, France, Belgium and the Union of South Africa. These ex-enemy colonies, however, are now held under mandate from the League of Nations, and to the exercise of government over their inhabitants there has been applied the ‘principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization’. Each of the mandatory Powers submits an annual report to the Mandates Commission of the League ‘on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates’. It is hoped that, in this manner, a standard of administration will be established which will, in its turn, influence all civilized Governments in the exercise of their sovereign rights over the backward peoples of the world.

Such, in very general outline, have been the main stages in the penetration of Europe into tropical Africa. First came the trader in search of gold and slaves: then the trading factory was established as a more permanent foothold. For over three hundred years European activities were virtually confined to the coastline. Towards the end of the eighteenth

century, however, the conscience of Europe was aroused by the horrors of the sea-borne traffic in slaves, and its abolition led to the policing of the coasts. At about the same time the development of a new scientific spirit heralded in the age of inland exploration. This was afterwards reinforced by the humanitarian desire to abolish the Slave Trade of the interior and to call a halt to Arab aggression. Missionaries followed close upon the heels of the explorers and, in their turn, helped to open up the country to western influences. But no sooner were the main outlines of African geography made known to Europe, than there followed the keenest rivalry amongst the Great Powers for a place in the tropical sun. Immediately after this 'Scramble' by Governments and Chartered Companies came partition by international agreement, and this, in turn, led to the pacification of Africa. Administrations were set up, railways were built, and foreign trade expanded by leaps and bounds. The isolation of the 'Dark Continent' was at an end. Then, with greater prosperity, there came a new feeling of responsibility. The dangers of the economic exploitation of primitive peoples by more advanced nations became increasingly apparent, and now, finally, there is a growing sense that the well-being of the more backward members of the human family forms a 'sacred trust of civilization'.

In the chapters which follow an attempt has been made to outline these different phases of development in their application to each one of the British De-

pendencies in tropical Africa in its turn. Together, these territories constitute a vast empire of over two and three-quarter million square miles and form not the least important part of our great national heritage. If the story of their small beginnings should at times appear almost parochial, it is, at least, the prelude to some of the greatest administrative problems which face this country at the present time, and upon their right solution the economic prosperity and the fair name of Britain will in no small measure depend.

Part II

West Africa

Chapter III

THE GAMBIA

THE Gambia River was discovered by the Portuguese in 1447, when their first expedition was annihilated by the natives. Eight years later it was visited again by Cadamosto, a Venetian in the service of Henry the Navigator. He likewise came into conflict with the river peoples, but returned and sailed some distance up-stream. The river itself provides an excellent highway into the Western Sudan, and this, together with the fact that there are twenty-six feet of water at its mouth at low tide, marked it out as a natural base for European traders. When Portugal came under the dominion of Spain, a number of Portuguese settled in England and their activities led to the granting of a Patent in 1588 to 'certain merchants of Exeter and others of the west parts and of London, for trade to the rivers of Senega and Gambra (*sic*) in Guinea'. The Gambia was thus one of the earliest scenes of British trading activity on the West Coast, and it was on an island in this river that the first English factory was established. The foundation of Fort James, in 1618, makes the Gambia the oldest of our African Dependencies.

Between 1618 and 1752 one Chartered Company followed another, and each in turn upheld the claims of this country in Senegambia during the long period

of Anglo-French rivalry. Before the close of the seventeenth century the French, under de Brue, had established themselves at Albreda on the right bank of the river opposite James Island, and were for a time very active in their efforts to capture the trade of the country. From the first, however, our continental rivals tended to concentrate on the Senegal and its coastline, while the Gambia was more particularly the preserve of the English. Francis Moore, a factor and writer to the Royal African Company at Fort James between 1730 and 1735, has left us an interesting account of life in a trading factory of the period. There was, of course, no question of British territorial sovereignty, and a small tribute was paid each year to the neighbouring King of Barra. The chief articles of export were gold, slaves, elephants' teeth and beeswax, and most of these came from the Niger hinterland. The slaves were mainly captives taken in war and were brought down tied 'by the neck with leather thongs, at about a yard distant from each other'. They carried produce on their heads, and water and food for the journey in addition. When the supply of prisoners of war fell short, various expedients were resorted to in order to increase the number of recruits. 'Since this slave trade has been used', writes Moore, 'all punishments are changed into slavery; there being an advantage on such condemnations, they strain for crimes very hard in order to get the benefit of selling the criminal. Not only murder, theft and adultery are punished by selling the criminal for a slave, but every trifling crime

is punished in the same manner.' We are told that the Company's servants disapproved of this practice and never bought any stolen persons as slaves, but, even if such were the case, conscientious scruples of this kind did little to mitigate the horrors of the traffic.

The Slave Trade was very lucrative, and its close connection with the sugar plantations of the West Indies made it one of the main objectives of colonial and maritime policy. By the Peace of Paris (1763) Great Britain acquired the Senegal, and French aspirations were confined to the island of Goree. At Versailles, twenty years later, the balance was once again restored. France recovered her position in Senegambia, and the possession of Fort James and of the River Gambia was expressly guaranteed to Great Britain. The local situation was complicated by the reservation to this country of the gum trade of Portendik, which is situated to the north of Saint Louis, and, as though by way of compensation for this invasion of their sphere, the French soon re-established themselves at Albreda on the Gambia. The international scramble started afresh during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Saint Louis and its dependencies on the Senegal once more passed into English hands, and it appeared as though the French had been definitely excluded from West Africa. By the first Treaty of Paris (1814), however, these factories and settlements were again restored to our continental rivals, and those of our merchants who had concentrated on the Senegal valley during the interlude of British occupa-

tion returned to the Gambia in 1816 and settled on the island of Banjola, at the mouth of the river. The island itself was rechristened St Mary's and the little township took the name of the then Secretary of State, Lord Bathurst.

In none of our African Dependencies is the result of the complete indifference of the Home Government to colonial expansion during the greater part of the nineteenth century more marked than in the Gambia. This first-class river is an ideal base for expansion into a vast hinterland. It was chosen by Mungo Park, in 1795 and again in 1805, as the point of departure for his expeditions to the Upper Niger valley. Its natural advantages for internal penetration make the Senegal appear almost insignificant by comparison. Yet our possessions on the river long remained mere trading posts of the old type, together with such of the surrounding country as was indispensable for purposes of their defence. In 1823—seven years after the founding of Bathurst—McCarthy's Island was purchased from the natives. It is situated about a hundred and sixty miles up-stream and marks the limit of navigation for larger vessels. Three years later, a strip of land along the right bank of the river opposite Bathurst was acquired from the King of Barra. The possession of this 'Ceded Mile', as it was called, definitely excluded the French from the mouth of the Gambia, while Cape St Mary and British Combo, which were acquired at varying dates between 1827 and 1855, and were settled with pensioners from West

Indian regiments and with liberated Africans, protected Bathurst from its troublesome neighbours on the left bank. The British sphere was made still more of a reality in 1857 when the French finally withdrew from their settlement at Albreda in return for the renunciation by this country of all claims to participate in the gum trade of Portendik.

The expansion of France in West Africa, which was due to the initiative and outstanding ability of Faidherbe and the sympathetic encouragement of Napoleon III, soon led to the complete isolation of our settlements on the Gambia. Their trade was mainly with France and much of it, indeed, was in French hands. The local revenue was precarious and the Colony remained a source of expense and embarrassment to the Home Government. Moreover, the task of civilizing its 'peculiar population' seemed a well-nigh hopeless one. For these reasons the Governor-in-Chief of the West African Settlements* actually proposed the cession of the Gambia to France in 1869. Though nothing came of this at the time, the prospect of evacuation was by no means given up. France, for her part, turned to the building of her colonial empire with renewed vigour after the Franco-Prussian War, and French penetration into the valley of the Upper Gambia became an accomplished fact.

* After 1816 the Gambia was first subject to Sierra Leone, to which Colony it was annexed in 1821. It received its first Lieutenant-Governor nine years later, and from 1843 to 1866 it constituted an independent Colony. As a result of the Parliamentary Commission of 1865, however, it was once again brought under Sierra Leone.

In 1877 Lord Carnarvon warned British traders that they could not expect Government protection above McCarthy Island, although missionaries and others interested in native welfare succeeded in preventing official indifference from leading to actual cession. So far as France was concerned, our treaty rights guaranteed our sphere in the Gambia, but a long period of inactivity had not strengthened our position. By the 'eighties, indeed, European penetration into Africa had ceased to be coastal and riverine and had become continental. This change necessitated a definition of frontiers between the French and British zones, and conversations between the two Governments finally led to an agreement in 1889. The watershed of the Gambia was surrendered and British territory for ever restricted to a narrow belt of land, ten kilometres, or a little over six miles wide, on either bank of the river up to Yarbu-Tenda, some two hundred and fifty miles from the sea. The actual boundary survey was completed in 1905, when Yarbu-Tenda itself was handed over to the French.

The Dependency of the Gambia was finally separated from Sierra Leone in 1888. The frontier line dividing it from French territory cut across tribal boundaries and much complicated the task of government. Hitherto the 'Marabouts', or Mohammedan puritans, had been engaged in endless wars with the 'Sonninkis', who professed no organized religion and whose devotion to liquor offended the true believers. In the 'nineties it had become essential that law and order

should be established throughout the territories recognized as lying within the British sphere, and an expedition routed Fodi Sila, a Marabout chieftain of Foreign Combo and a veteran slave raider, in 1894. Further trouble of a similar kind was experienced three years later when Fodi Kabba, of the Foni country, was overthrown, only, however, to organize further revolt at Medina in French territory. Matters finally came to a head in 1900 when two British travelling Commissioners and a number of native police were killed while endeavouring to settle a dispute that had broken out between Marabouts and Sonninkis at Sankandi. A punitive expedition was organized in the following year and the principal culprits fled to Medina. Co-operation with the French authorities, however, led to the final suppression of these peace-breakers, and order has not since been seriously disturbed.

The government of the Protectorate was first taken actively in hand in 1894, and in the ensuing years a number of treaties were negotiated with the various local chiefs. The system was reorganized in 1902 after the suppression of the revolt at Sankandi. With the exception of the island of St Mary, the whole country was divided into five provinces and these again subdivided into districts, each under its Head Chief. Travelling Commissioners were appointed to supervise the exercise of native rule and to form a liaison with the central administration at Bathurst.

Although a mere enclave in French territory, the

Gambia has enjoyed considerable prosperity during the last quarter of a century. The river affords ample transport facilities, which are further implemented by a Government road encircling the Protectorate. There are naturally no facilities for railways, and any startling progress in the economic sphere is most unlikely. There is, moreover, an element of danger in the fact that exports are almost entirely restricted to ground nuts, the staple crop of this part of West Africa. The spread of transport facilities in French Senegambia may reduce the transit trade of the country, and the proximity of a foreign administration has inconveniences of its own. This was shown only too clearly in 1922 when the French five franc piece, which had long been the standard coin of the Gambia, was demonetized. It cost the Colony a year's revenue to introduce the alloy coinage of the West African Currency Board in its stead. In spite of these limitations, however, this, the oldest and the smallest of our African Dependencies, has greatly advanced in prosperity and well-being, and occupies the unique position of holding investments well in excess of its liabilities. To the historian it will remain as a survival, and a somewhat anomalous one at that, of the old rivalry between French and British on the West Coast, and as an example of the early trading post, transformed no doubt, but still a coastal and riverine settlement, which has lived on into the age of Colonies that are truly continental in area and potentialities.

Chapter IV

SIERRA LEONE

SIERRA LEONE, though not the first British settlement, is nevertheless the oldest of our Colonies in tropical Africa. It was originally discovered, in 1462, by Pedro da Cintra, one of the intrepid seamen in the service of the Iffante of Portugal, Prince Henry the Navigator. The high mountain with its mist-clad summit he called 'Serra Leöa', the Lioness Mountain, not, as an early chronicler explains, 'on account of the existence of lions but . . . for its rugged and wild appearance'. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Portuguese had made their first settlement on the river, and some ruined masonry remains to this day as a memorial to these early pioneers.

Exactly a century after da Cintra's discovery, Sir John Hawkins landed here on his first slaving visit to Africa. The excellence of the anchorage and the abundance of fresh water and supplies soon made Sierra Leone an important depot for trade and a much-frequented port of call for vessels bound for the Gold Coast. By the middle of the seventeenth century English merchants had established themselves on the river and the activities of the Company of Royal Adventurers, who built several forts in 1663, were centred at Bunce Island, which is situated some

eighteen miles above Freetown. The natural advantages of Sierra Leone attracted hosts of traders in ivory, which was here of the very best quality, and in slaves and gold. These men were Portuguese, Dutch, British or French, though by the end of the century the two last-named nations had come to play the greatest rôle. The increase in the number and the prosperity of these ventures, and the restrictive measures imposed by the principal States on the trading activities of their nationals, which were so characteristic of the age of monopoly,* together encouraged activities of very dubious morality. To the filibusters and buccaneers of earlier days there succeeded a generation of full-blooded pirates, enemies alike of God and man. For these gentry the Sierra Leone River offered many attractions, and soon acquired an unenviable reputation as one of the principal pirate centres of the world. The cove now known as Aberdeen Creek was the original 'Pirates' Bay'. Here Jean Hamlin, the Frenchman, and, after him, Edward Davis, who, characteristically, re-christened one of his captures *The Bachelor's Delight*, were wont to anchor. This was also the principal port of call of Howel Davis, who escaped hanging by dying in action: and of yet another Welshman, Bartholomew Roberts, total abstainer, moralist and Sabbatarian, who, by some curious freak of fortune, was 'the greatest pirate who ever declared war against the whole world'. In four years (1719—

* For an account of the various English privileged Companies trading to Africa, *vide infra*, chap. v, p. 76 sq.

1722) Roberts is said to have taken over four hundred prizes, until he too, like his predecessor, died fighting against the armed forces of his own country.

But piracy was doomed and soon became little more than a memory. The Chartered Companies, too, were being forced into oblivion by the activities of the private trader. Dominating everything, however, was the shadow of the Slave Trade. The Treaty of Utrecht had provided a great stimulus to British participation, and the nefarious influence of the traffic spread over the petty native chiefs who came into contact with the Europeans. The eighteenth century nevertheless witnessed the formation of what was probably the largest native empire ever known on this part of the West Coast. Last and greatest of the Temne kings was Naimbanna 'the Great'. His reign appears to have lasted from 1720 to 1793, and this ruler, whom Zachary Macaulay described as 'of uncommon intelligence', extended his sway over the whole coastline of the modern Dependency, while fourteen kings and numberless chieftains did him homage. Escaped slaves had even built a village on the river at 'Deserters' Town' and native Africans were active in mission work, both as Christians and Mohammedans. But the day of ordered government had not yet dawned. 'King' Tom, chief of the peninsula which was soon to become the scene of the first British settlement, and friend and favourite of his overlord, King Naimbanna, might send two of his sons to school in England and his subjects might even

appear to be happy and contented under his rule, but his relative enlightenment did not prevent his selling hundreds of his own people into slavery each year.

Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century Sierra Leone had profited but little from three hundred years of contact with Europeans. By a curious chance of history the peninsula, which had been the scene of the activities of the first British slave raider, was destined to be the home of a most interesting experiment in free negro colonization, for which the humanitarian spirit of a new age had been clamouring. It will be remembered that Lord Mansfield, in a famous judgment delivered in 1772, had declared that all slaves then in England were free. Slavery in Great Britain was thus a crime, and in consequence of this new freedom, many ex-slaves became destitute and were adrift on the streets of London and other large towns. Their ranks were swollen as a result of the American Revolution and the Peace of 1783. Many slaves had fought for the British during the war and had thus gained their freedom. Some had come over to England only to increase the number of 'black poor', while others had gone to Nova Scotia to found a settlement in a climate but little suited to them. The disposal of these indigent negroes soon became a most urgent problem, since idleness and misery were fast making them unemployable. To its solution Granville Sharp gave the most serious attention and decided upon Sierra Leone as a new home for liberated Africans. He sent out a small expedition, at his own

expense, to explore the possibilities of the country, while the 'Committee for the Black Poor' induced three hundred and forty ex-slaves to volunteer for the new settlement, the expenses of transport thither being met by the Government. By a lamentable error in judgment, the promoters of this humanitarian scheme added some sixty white women, of the most doubtful antecedents, who were picked up in a drunken condition on the streets of London and Portsmouth and included in the expedition, which finally left Plymouth in the early spring of 1787. The voyage proved disastrous. The settlers, or rather such of them as were still alive, arrived in the Sierra Leone River, much weakened by sickness, to find that no preparations had been made for their reception. The naval officer in command concluded a treaty with 'King' Tom by which that potentate transferred some twenty square miles of his territory to the colonists, and these were then left to their fate. The soil was rocky and poor and the settlers lacked the qualities which make for successful colonization. A year later another expedition discovered that their numbers had been sadly reduced, though more settlers came out and the land grant made in 1787 was duly confirmed by King Naimbanna, suzerain and overlord of the territory. Slowly the settlement of Granville Town came into being, but misunderstandings arose with some of the neighbouring chieftains, and these, encouraged by European slave traders, attacked the colonists and burned their little town to the ground in 1790.

The first stage in the history of the Colony was thus one long chapter of disaster, to which the bad type of settler chosen contributed not a little. But misfortune could not deter a man like Granville Sharp. He and his friends had already realized the need for some form of official organization, and had also seen that 'honourable trade' with the coast of Africa was essential if the Slave Trade were ever to be supplanted. They accordingly petitioned for a Royal Charter of Incorporation for a newly formed Company, having as its principal objects the colonization and cultivation of the peninsula of Sierra Leone, the education of the natives and the active opposing of the Slave Trade. This was granted, after much opposition, in July, 1791, when the Sierra Leone Company was duly incorporated.

Over a hundred officials were sent out to reorganize the Colony, which was reinforced, in the spring of 1792, by the arrival of twelve hundred negroes from Nova Scotia. Many of these were West Coast natives who had been captured in childhood and taken into slavery. Discontent at the treatment they had received after their liberation combined with their natural suspicion of the whites and the inefficiency of company rule in its earlier stages to cause much resentment and some misunderstanding on their part. But on the whole the Nova Scotians prospered, and Thomas Peters, the most notable of them, became the first 'headman' of the new town of Freetown. The task of the first governors, amongst whom Zachary Macaulay, the father of Lord Macaulay, is perhaps the best

known, was by no means a simple one. In September, 1794, a French republican fleet appeared in the river and the hooligans who stood for the revolutionary catchword of liberty did not hesitate to sack and burn the settlement, which was in no posture to defend itself. But the work of reconstruction was soon taken in hand with a will, and native traders from the surrounding districts came and established themselves near the town.

The motley assortment of peoples and tribes was added to still further by the arrival of the Maroons. These were the descendants of Jamaican slaves who had revolted in the seventeenth century and had withdrawn into the mountains of the island. In 1796 fresh disputes arose between them and the planters, and they were banished to Nova Scotia. The cold northern climate affected them much as it had done the liberated American negroes some years earlier. Trouble soon ensued, but in 1800 the Sierra Leone Company consented to receive them, and they were duly transported across the Atlantic. Their arrival at Freetown came at an opportune moment. The settlement had been declared an independent Colony under company rule in the previous year, and preparations were being made for widening its territory. This increased the hostility some of the neighbouring chiefs had long felt towards the British, and Freetown was actually being attacked when a ship arrived in the river bringing the Maroons, who were all accustomed to fighting, and a small contingent of soldiers. Hostilities continued sporadically

for two more years, but the Colony was now much better able to defend itself.

In the earliest years the Company had itself met all the expenses of the settlement, but, from 1796 onwards, it had been in receipt of an annual government grant, which was raised to £14,000 in 1804. This, however, did not prove sufficient to cover the costs of the administration, and the Company fell heavily into debt. The directors therefore petitioned that they should be relieved of their obligations under the Charter. The Government granted their request, and an Act passed in 1807 declared Sierra Leone to be a Crown Colony. The transfer from company rule was duly carried out on January 1st, 1808. At that time the total population did not amount to more than a thousand, and our first experiment in the colonization of free negroes could hardly be counted a success. The little settlement had been isolated in the midst of Europeans and natives who alike prospered by the Slave Trade. These people objected most strongly to the very principle which had inspired its promoters, and did all they could to place difficulties in their way. Moreover the colonists themselves had not always settled down readily to work, while the Company's officials had enforced an apprenticeship system which it was somewhat difficult to distinguish from slavery.

The transfer to the Crown coincided with the abolition of the Slave Trade, a measure which was to be of the greatest influence in the history of Sierra Leone. Above all things, new settlers were needed,

colonists who would actually settle down to agriculture. The first arrivals under the new regime were the Kroomen, who came from the Liberian coastland. They were destined to be the boat builders and seamen of the Colony. In their wake came pensioners from the Royal African Corps and from various West Indian regiments. But most important of all was the rôle of the Colony as a depository for slaves rescued on the high seas by the British naval squadron, which for many years carried on an incessant campaign against the forbidden traffic. The captured slave vessels were brought in for adjudication before the Vice-Admiralty Court at Freetown or the Mixed Commission Court, which was set up in the Colony in 1819 and consisted of representatives of various nations pledged to the abolition of the Slave Trade. This latter Court, during its forty years' existence, condemned over five hundred vessels and liberated nearly fifty-seven thousand slaves. The children were cared for by philanthropic societies; some of the more promising youths were drafted into native regiments: while the mass of the adults were 'indented as apprentices' to individuals or else to the Public Works Department. In these various ways the population of the Colony was largely augmented and new settlements were founded at Waterloo and other places in the peninsula. Unfortunately, however, a preference for trade over manual labour was noticeable amongst the liberated Africans almost from the start, and this predilection has been greatly intensified by the gradual spread of education over the century.



Sketch Map of Sierra Leone.

The growth in population was accompanied by an increase in the territory of the Colony. The north bank of the Sierra Leone estuary acquired some importance on account of its timber resources, and traders had already begun their activities there. In 1824 a treaty was therefore made with the native chieftains, who ceded this north bank to a depth of one mile inland. In the next year an extension was also made to the South, territorial rights being established over the Sherbro district, including the fertile peninsula named after Sir Charles Turner, the Governor of the day. A further step was taken towards consolidating our position on the coast by the acquisition of the land between the estuary and the Little Scarcies River in 1827. There then followed a pause which lasted over thirty years. One Governor was informed that the Colony was a 'great annoyance' to the British Government and was instructed above all things to keep down the expenditure. The work of a man of action and initiative like Turner had been complicated by the fact that, from 1821 to 1828, the Governor at Sierra Leone was responsible for our other West African Settlements on the Gambia and the Gold Coast. Moreover, both he and Colonel Denham, the explorer of the northern Emirates of Nigeria, who had previously done much excellent work in supervising and caring for the liberated slaves as they were landed at Freetown and who was Governor of the Colony for a brief period in 1828, died prematurely. The climate took a heavy toll of the British officials on the coast,

and it was not without reason that Sierra Leone acquired the sinister appellation of the 'White Man's Grave'.

Although relations were established with some of the peoples of the hinterland, the Colony was destined long to remain little more than a chain of coastal settlements. Some hundreds of ex-slaves established themselves fairly early in the Quiah district, to the East of the original Colony, and their presence led to collisions with the natives. Raids from this district in 1861 necessitated the conclusion of a treaty of cession and, in the same year, Sherbro Island was also acquired, but the coastal character of the Colony was not seriously modified by these annexations. In an age of *laissez-faire*, British interest in West Africa had fallen away almost to vanishing point; nevertheless, commitments towards the liberated Africans prevented any serious advocacy of our withdrawal from Sierra Leone.

The history of the Colony down to the 'seventies does not present any very striking features. Ivory and gold had been exports of some importance in the early days, though, as the years went by, palm products gradually rose to a position of predominance in the export trade. Lack of transport facilities and the deadly nature of the climate made progress very slow, and the real expansion of trade did not come until the age of railways and of new discoveries in tropical medicine. Meanwhile, however, the character of Creole (or liberated African) society was being con-

siderably modified. Missionaries, both European and African, were busily at work amongst the medley of native races which was slowly being transformed into a new Sierra Leonean nation. English was the principal language—though recast into a curious local dialect—and education was instituted on European lines. Many of the leading Creoles of the Colony went to Fourah Bay College, which was established on its present site a century ago, or else to schools and universities in England, the gulf between them and the natives of the hinterland becoming daily wider. In the Colony, too, the educated Creoles did not take kindly to productive work; trading occupations came to play a disproportionately large rôle, to the detriment of agriculture, the only sure foundation of African economic life. In consequence of these tendencies, there sprang up a civilization neither European nor African, a lasting memorial both to the days of slavery and to the humanitarian zeal which ushered in the new era.

The story of the territorial expansion of Sierra Leone during the last quarter of the nineteenth century is soon told. The reign of Napoleon III, as we have seen, witnessed a great revival of French interest in colonial affairs. While the British Government was most anxious to limit our responsibilities on the West Coast, our continental rivals were planning a vast forward movement from the Senegal to the Upper Niger. After 1845 a number of military expeditions increased the prestige of France in the Guinea country (the

so-called *Rivières du Sud*), and most of the land lying between the Gambia and Sierra Leone passed under her influence. In the late 'seventies land cessions had extended the British sphere in the latter Colony up to the basin of the Great Scarcies River, which, in 1882, was accepted by an Anglo-French Convention as marking the western boundary of Sierra Leone. In the same year further cessions by native chieftains brought the eastern frontier of British territory as far as the River Mano, which was recognized as the international boundary by the negro republic of Liberia three years later.* With one or two trivial exceptions the coastal frontier of Sierra Leone was thus definitely established in its present form by the middle 'eighties.

French expansion, however, was mainly directed towards the Upper Niger, at a time when British influence was represented on the lower river by the Royal Niger Company.† The Treaty of Berlin (1885) recognized, by implication, the respective spheres of influence of the two countries, while an Anglo-French agreement six years later embodied the 'express understanding' that, in the region of the Upper Niger, 'both banks of the Niger shall remain in the sphere of

* Thirty families of free people of colour were brought from the United States to Sierra Leone at the beginning of 1820 under the auspices of the American Colonization Society. They went to settle in Sherbro, which proved most unhealthy for them. Returning almost immediately to Freetown, they rented land near Fourah Bay. The Society next transferred them to Cape Mesurado, where they proclaimed the negro republic of Liberia in 1822.

† *Vide infra*, chap. VIII.

French influence'. This set a definite limit to the expansion of our coastal settlements of Sierra Leone towards their natural hinterland. The indifference of the British Government had not been supplemented, in this part of Africa, by the activities of any large trading Company. The need for fixing the actual boundary between the French and British spheres became apparent in 1893, when armed forces of both countries, which were engaged in pursuing a band of Sofa marauders, accidentally came into conflict with one another at Waima in the British zone. This unfortunate incident led to the delimitation of the northern frontier of Sierra Leone in 1895. Our territory was thus brought up to the Niger watershed and no further. Concessions here and on the Gambia were, indeed, a necessary corollary to the recognition by France of our claims in the territories now known as Nigeria, and it must be admitted that no serious efforts had been made hitherto to extend British influence very far from the coast.

The first result of the international settlement of 1895 was the proclamation, in the following year, of a British Protectorate over the country then recognized as falling within our sphere. Treaties were made with the native chiefs, while the great extension of territory up-country called for the organization of a system of government for the Protectorate and for the improvement of transport facilities. In the same year, 1896, the first sod of the Government railway was cut. The construction of the line was faced with considerable

natural difficulties, but Boia Junction was reached in 1899 and Bo three years later. From this point the railway began to traverse the palm belt, and its influence on the export trade became increasingly important. The terminus of Baiima was reached in 1905, and a tramway extension to Pendembu afterwards brought the line to within a few miles of the Liberian frontier. It is in many ways unfortunate that the Sierra Leone railway system, unlike that of the other African Dependencies, should have been constructed on the 2 ft. 6 in. gauge. A small and relatively poor Colony, however, had to economize rigidly in this as in other respects, and, while the receipts have more than covered the working expenses, a small subsidy from the revenue has been necessary to enable the interest charges to be met. The economic importance of the railway system was further enhanced by the construction of a branch from Boia Junction in a north-easterly direction, crossing the Yonni country, with its palm trees, and finally reaching Kamabai in 1917. This network of 330 miles has been of inestimable value as a civilizing agent and as a help to the general administration of the country.* The native revolt, which occurred in 1898 as a consequence of the imposition of a hut tax in the territory recently recognized under the Anglo-French Convention as forming part of the British sphere, already belongs to an age long past. Law and order have slowly permeated

* The total capital expenditure on the railway system amounted to a little over £1,600,000.

primitive native society, and the construction of motor roads, which is now proceeding as fast as the finances will allow, will hasten on the process still further. Another feature of the new transport system, of particular interest to some of the British administrators of the country, is the mountain railway from Freetown to Hill Station, some six miles away, which was opened in 1904. This has afforded new possibilities of a more comfortable existence for those Europeans who work in the unhealthy atmosphere of the capital, and has done something to implement the revolution in medical science, with the untold benefits this has conferred on the physical fitness and general well-being of the white population of the Colony.

Since 1888 the government of Sierra Leone has been completely separate from that of the other West African Colonies. Twenty-five years earlier a Charter had created an Executive and a Legislative Council for the Colony, both being composed of members nominated by the Crown. Various modifications were made in the course of time, nominated unofficial members being added to the Legislative Council in 1913. In the same year an Order in Council provided for the administration of the Protectorate. The Governor of the Colony was also Governor of the Protectorate, and Ordinances affecting the Protectorate were authorized to be passed by the Legislative Council of the Colony. This somewhat anomalous position, which has occurred at one time or another in most of our African Dependencies,*

* Cf. Lagos and Southern Nigeria, *infra*, p. 199.

was considerably modified in 1924, when the Legislative Council was enlarged. This body now contains a certain number of elected representatives from the Colony, while, of the seven nominated unofficial members, three are Paramount Chiefs from the Protectorate. The existence of relatively large numbers of educated Creoles in the Colony proper, and the wide divergence in outlook between them and the backward peoples of the Protectorate, considerably complicate the problem of government. In 1906, however, the Government started a boarding school for the sons of native chiefs at Bo. This institution seems to have been successful in developing the intellectual aptitudes of its pupils without making them in any way unfitted to take their place in tribal society.

During the present century important changes have taken place in the economic position of the Colony. The building of the railway, as we have seen, opened up large areas of the palm-bearing country of the interior, and in the last five years before the War the export of palm kernels already amounted to an annual average of 45,700 tons. In the corresponding period immediately following the Armistice this had risen to over 50,000 tons. The advance in foreign trade of recent years has thus not been on anything like the scale of that of Nigeria or the Gold Coast. The range of products is much more limited, for Sierra Leone appears to have no mineral resources of any importance and its exports consist almost entirely of palm oil and kernels, supplemented to some small extent by

kola nuts and ginger. There can be no doubt, however, that recent economic developments, if not so great as to merit the epithet of revolutionary, have nevertheless transformed the country and opened up new vistas of civilization and material well-being for large numbers of its native inhabitants.

Chapter V

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS ON THE GOLD COAST (1482-1872)

BETWEEN the lagoons of Assini on the West and the mouth of the Volta and the lagoons near Lome on the East, is a tract of some three hundred and thirty miles of low-lying coastland. There are no natural harbours, the rivers are blocked by sand at their estuaries and nowhere can sea-going vessels come close in to shore. Yet this uninviting coast has been known to Europeans for close on five hundred years and long remained the principal scene of rivalry in trade and commerce in West Africa.

It is not easy to ascertain the date at which the intrepid sailors of Western Europe first discovered this part of the African littoral. There is a tradition of French expeditions and settlements during the second half of the fourteenth century, but it lacks historical proof. The first authentic record points to two Portuguese mariners, Juan de Santerem and Pedro d'Escobar, as the original pioneers. Their expedition established the existence of a trade in gold somewhere in the neighbourhood of Elmina in 1482. Ten years later John II became King of Portugal and determined to safeguard the claims of his country on the Guinea Coast by building a fortress there. A fleet was therefore sent out, equipped with the necessary

materials for construction, and anchored off Elmina in January, 1482. The landing party hoisted the Royal Standard of Portugal, celebrated Mass, and offered up prayers for the success of their new venture and for the conversion of the natives. Permission to form a settlement was granted, though somewhat reluctantly, by the local chieftain, and the castle of São Jorge da Mina* was soon constructed. Thus, ten years before Columbus discovered America, the first permanent European settlement was made on the Gold Coast and the King of Portugal took the title of 'Lord of Guinea'.

In the early years the Portuguese succeeded in keeping African trade almost entirely to themselves. The Papal Bull of 1480 had recognized in advance their possession of any lands they might discover, and this privilege was confirmed in 1493. Up to the time of the Reformation the validity of these grants remained virtually unquestioned. About the year 1500 the Guinea Company was formed in Portugal with a monopoly of the trade to the Coast and, at the same time, the fortifications of the castle at Elmina were considerably strengthened. Other forts were also founded, of which those of San Antonio at Axim (1515) and Accra (*circa* 1565) were the most important. In the second half of the sixteenth century, however, the monopolistic pretensions of the Portuguese began to be called in question, more especially by the Protestant nations of Northern Europe, whom papal

* Saint George of the Mine. Elmina is a corruption of this name.

pronouncements no longer sufficed to hold in check. The first English expedition to the West Coast appears to have been that of Captain Thomas Windham, who set out in 1553 in company with an exiled Portuguese gentleman named Antonio Pinteado. Both commanders lost their lives, but the profits of the voyage were sufficiently large to encourage others to follow in their wake. These adventurers, both English and French, carefully avoided the castle at Elmina, and the resources of the Portuguese were quite inadequate to prevent this trespass into their cherished preserves. Moreover the annexation of Portugal by Spain in 1580 seriously diminished its power and prestige abroad. Before the end of the century a still more formidable rival appeared in the form of the Dutch, whose successful fight for liberty and independence from the Spanish yoke had filled them with longings for pastures new. In 1595 they made their earliest recorded voyage to African waters and actually dared to build one or two small forts on the Gold Coast three years later.

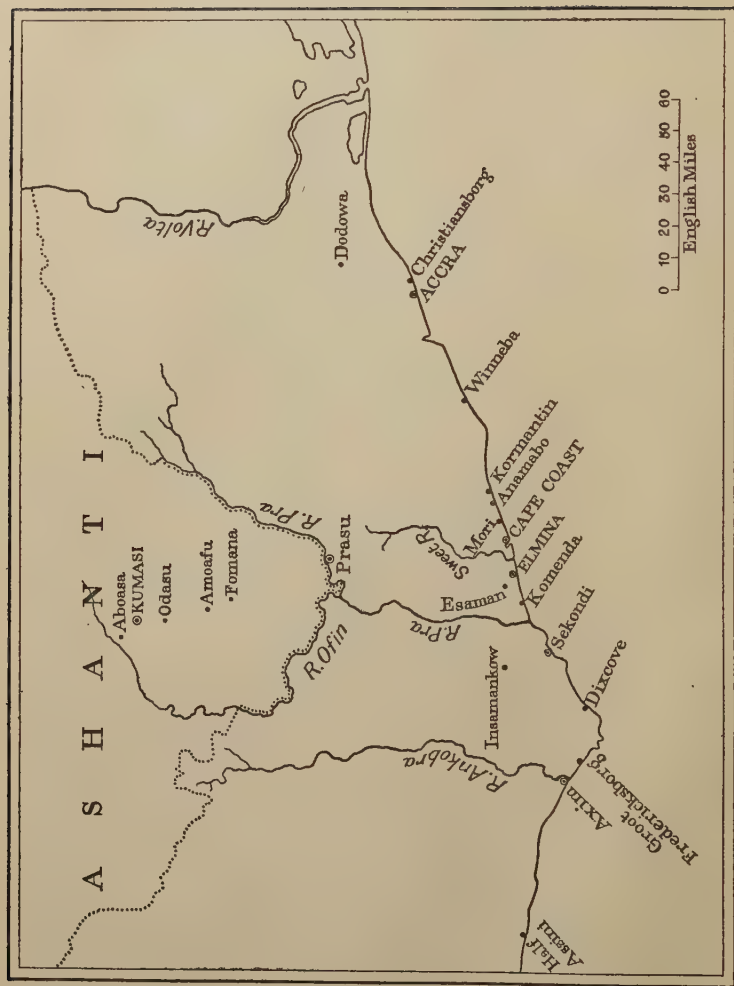
As rivals to the Portuguese the Dutch could count on the goodwill of the natives, as their goods were both better and cheaper than those which had hitherto been sold on the Coast. Moreover, as the first comers, the Portuguese had had longer in which to become cordially detested by the tribes with whom they came into contact. The Dutch took advantage of their settlements to encourage native resistance to the Portuguese and did all in their power to maintain

good relations with the local chieftains. The incorporation of the Netherlands West India Company in 1621 provided an additional stimulus to their activities. The close connection between the Slave Trade and the prosperity of the West Indian Islands led to this Company being granted the monopoly of African trade so far, at least, as its own nationals were concerned. In 1624 Fort Nassau was built on the site of the older trading station at Mori, and the Dutch made their first assault on Elmina a year later. This attack was somewhat premature and was beaten off with considerable loss. During the following years Nicholas van Ypren, the new Governor of Fort Nassau, negotiated with the coastal tribes and, with the aid of large presents, induced them to promise their co-operation in the next attack on the Portuguese. In 1637 Count Maurice of Nassau brought a considerable armed force across the Atlantic from South America and, together with the local troops and their native allies, opened a combined movement against Elmina. After the second bombardment the Portuguese Governor surrendered rather tamely, and Elmina became the headquarters of the Dutch on the Gold Coast. Five years later Portugal ceded all her claims in this part of West Africa to the Netherlands which, in return, withdrew from Brazil. Thus ended the first chapter in the European history of the Gold Coast. The authority of the Portuguese had never extended far from the forts, and almost the only permanent results of their occupation of over a century and a half

are a number of place names and a few words which have passed into common use.*

By the middle of the seventeenth century the Dutch had thus succeeded in becoming supreme on the Gold Coast, but the attractions of trade in gold and in slaves, which, with the development of the plantations of the West Indies, were now acquiring an ever-increasing importance, soon called new rivals into the field. The Swedes occupied Ursu lodge near Accra, which had previously been a minor Portuguese fort, in 1645, but in their turn were driven out by the Danes twelve years later. The lodge was rebuilt by the new conquerors, and named Christiansborg. It remained the principal centre of Danish trade in Africa for nearly two centuries. The Danes, who were now the sole representatives of Scandinavia on the Coast, concentrated their energies more particularly on the country to the east of Accra, including the Volta district. Another claimant for a share in this lucrative traffic was Brandenburg which, under the Great Elector (1640-1688), was rapidly coming to the fore in Germany. 'The surest wealth and the credit of a land', wrote this ambitious ruler, 'come from its commerce; shipping and trade are the most honourable pillars of a State.' In accordance with this principle a first expedition was sent out to the Gold Coast and

* In the first category come such names as Gold Coast (*Costa del Oro*), Elmina, River Volta and River Ankobra (*Rio Cobre*). As examples of the second may be cited: palaver (*palabra*), fetish (*feitico*), piccaninny (*picania*) and caboceer (*cabeceiro*). *Vide* Claridge, *Gold Coast*, I, 99-100.



Sketch Map to illustrate early settlements on the Gold Coast and the Ashanti Wars.

established a temporary settlement there in 1682. Its leader returned to Berlin with some of the local chieftains, who, it appears, were duly impressed with the military splendour of Prussia. Another expedition left in the following year and built the fort of Groot Fredericksborg. But this work of the Great Elector did not long survive his death, and the Brandenburg settlements had all been evacuated by 1720.

The real challenge to the monopolistic claims of the Dutch was indeed to come not from Sweden, Denmark, Brandenburg or even France, but from Great Britain. In the Elizabethan period English sailors had opposed the Spaniards and, to a lesser extent, the Portuguese in all quarters of the known world. Our earliest attempts at organized trade on monopolistic lines were not, however, so successful. The first African Company,* which received its Charter in 1618 and built Fort James on the Gambia River in that same year, did not last long. A second Company, formed during the reign of Charles I, established the earliest British post on the Gold Coast, at Kormantin, in 1631 and engaged in the Slave Trade for a number of years. Constitutional strife at home during the period of the Great Rebellion somewhat circumscribed the activities of our merchants in Africa, but these were resumed with renewed vigour after the Restoration. In 1662 a third Company—the ‘Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa’—was incor-

* Called the ‘Company of Adventurers of London trading into Africa’.

porated under the patronage of the Duke of York, with a view to supplying three thousand slaves each year to the British West Indies. It built a fort at Cabo Corso, or Cape Coast, a site which appears to have been occupied in turn by the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Swedes and the Danes, and this long remained the British headquarters in West Africa. The Dutch, for their part, naturally resented the intrusion of foreigners in such close proximity to Elmina, and English interests suffered severely during the Anglo-Dutch War of 1665-7. At the conclusion of peace at Breda in the latter year both sides agreed to keep their conquests. Our fort at Kormantin was thus lost to the Dutch, who were left in much the stronger position on the Gold Coast, though Cape Coast Castle still remained in English hands. Moreover, although open warfare had ceased, local hostilities still went on to some extent between the two rivals in Africa, and the resources of the Royal Adventurers were not sufficient to meet the strain. The Company, therefore, was only too glad to surrender its Charter to the Crown in 1672 and to transfer all its possessions to the 'Royal African Company of England', which was incorporated in that year.

This reorganization of our African interests came at a time when the influence of Holland was at its zenith. The new Company, however, had greater financial resources than its predecessor and at once began to strengthen its position on the Coast. Cape Coast Castle was reconditioned and a fort was built

on the site of the earlier lodge at Komenda. Several new posts were also established, of which perhaps the most important were James Fort at Accra, Anamabo (both in 1673) and Dixcove where, after a dispute with the Brandenburgers, Fort Metal Cross was finally built in 1697. The last quarter of the seventeenth century thus witnessed a considerable change in the balance of forces. The Dutch were busily engaged in defending their very existence as a nation in Europe, and such energy as was left them for overseas ventures was fully absorbed in their Asiatic possessions. The trade of the Gold Coast therefore came more and more into British hands.

The position of the Royal African Company was nevertheless no easy one. The whole principle of exclusive trading privileges, which was so characteristic a feature of the Restoration period, was assailed in the Declaration of Rights in 1689. Eight years later the new regime was applied to British relations with the West Coast. African trade ceased to be a monopoly of the Royal African Company and was thrown open to all British citizens. The Company, however, remained liable for the upkeep of its forts, as their protection was indispensable to private traders and Company men alike. The expense of their maintenance could not, in equity, be met by the Company alone, and the Act of 1697 therefore levied an *ad valorem* duty of ten per cent. on all goods exported to Africa, the proceeds being paid over to the Company for purposes of defence. This impost, even so, was fre-

quently evaded by private traders and was actually brought to an end in 1712. Hereafter the sole burden was thrown upon the Company, which soon found itself in considerable financial difficulties in consequence. A petition to Parliament in 1729 led to the passing of a resolution that the Company's forts should be maintained 'as marks of the possessions of Great Britain', and that some allowance should be made by the Government for their upkeep. The wording of this resolution is significant. The forts in West Africa were, for the first time, referred to as 'possessions'. In reality, of course, the country was still owned by negroes who admitted Europeans on payment of an annual rental. The competition between the various European Powers had been, and was destined long to remain, one for trade and not for territorial sovereignty. Our nationals on the Coast were there as traders or as Company servants, and not in any sense as Government representatives. Nevertheless, under the stimulus of the development of the Slave Trade, in the lucrative profits of which every British subject might well claim to have his share, all commerce was thrown open. This, in turn, implied the growth of Government responsibility towards the British trading posts on the Coast. For the next twenty years, with but few exceptions, an annual grant was voted by Parliament to the Company, but the abolition of its exclusive privileges was a blow from which it never really recovered. By the middle of the eighteenth century the old order was doomed. This was made

quite clear in the preamble to an Act passed in 1750.

The trade to and from Africa is very advantageous to Great Britain and necessary for supplying the plantations and colonies thereunto belonging with a sufficient number of negroes at reasonable rates, and, for that purpose, the said trade ought to be free and open to all His Majesty's subjects.

It was therefore enacted that all British subjects might become members of a new Company called the 'Company of British Merchants Trading to Africa', upon payment of a fee of forty shillings. To this body was entrusted the maintenance and government of our forts and factories in West Africa, and its affairs were to be managed by a committee of nine, representing the merchants of London, Bristol and Liverpool. Two years later the Royal African Company was compensated for the surrender of its Charter, its forts, its slaves and other belongings, and the era of monopoly was brought definitely to an end. The new Company of Merchants was not allowed to engage in commerce in its collective capacity: henceforward all trade to Africa was to be in the hands of private individuals. The subsidy which had previously been granted by Parliament to the Royal African Company, now defunct, was paid to the new Company. From the year 1752, in which this system was inaugurated, down to 1807, when the Slave Trade itself was abolished, the Parliamentary grant averaged £13,000 a year.

Although the activities of this rather bewildering

succession of Companies also covered the settlements on the Gambia and at Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast remained the principal centre of British trade in Africa. In the second half of the eighteenth century the Slave Trade flourished as never before and added to the welter of chaos amongst the coastal tribes. Of these the most important were the Fantis, a branch of a large negro family of peoples which extended into the hinterland. More warlike and better organized than they, however, were their kinsmen the Ashantis, who lived up-country and succeeded in developing a powerful state system during the course of the century. The coastal tribes acted for the most part as intermediaries between the European traders and the native 'producers' of slaves and gold further inland. Under these conditions, the possibility of conflict between them and their more warlike neighbours of the interior was ever present. The Europeans, for their part, were only too prone to side with the peoples with whom they came into more immediate contact, and this attitude of mind was to have most unpleasant consequences at a slightly later date. Help from outside, however, did not prevent most of the coastal tribes from passing under the hegemony of Ashanti. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the authority of the Ashanti King, Osai Tutu, was limited to the more immediate neighbourhood of Kumasi, but the vigour and energy of this ruler and of his successors soon extended the territories subject to the 'Golden Stool' beyond all recognition. A great native empire

had arisen by the end of the century, and this fact was to dominate the history of the Gold Coast almost down to our own times.

On the littoral itself the Dutch still held Elmina and a few other forts besides, while the Danes remained entrenched at Christiansborg and in the Volta country, but Great Britain had now become the dominant European power. Jurisdiction was nevertheless limited to the forts and factories. So far as the natives were concerned, these European intruders had no authority whatsoever. Their settlements were mere trading posts, and they themselves usually remained neutral in the never-ceasing series of internecine wars waged by the local tribes. It was not until about the year 1815 that the English made the first real attempt to extend their jurisdiction and to inculcate elementary ideas of justice into the minds of their backward neighbours. It must be admitted, however, that the men who had entered the service of the different Companies had not always been of a type exactly calculated to act as a civilizing influence. In the absence of adequate medical knowledge, the climate had worked havoc amongst them. In some particularly bad years almost the whole garrison and civilian establishment at Cape Coast had been carried away by fever. Heavy drinking and inadequate clothing merely added to the miseries they suffered under the tropical sun. In entering into a contract for service in West Africa, these men could not but feel that they were signing their own death warrant. The term of

service was too long and escape was difficult. At this distance of time one cannot but wonder that conditions in the Gold Coast forts were not worse than they were.

The abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807 marks a very definite turning-point in the history of the British in tropical Africa. Though illegal shipments might still be winked at by some of its local representatives, these could not save the settlements administered by the Company of Merchants from the inevitable consequences which followed from the loss of their main source of income. After 1807, indeed, the Government increased its subsidy to £23,000 a year, but the situation had become quite anomalous. Sierra Leone, as we have seen, was now a Crown Colony and our crusade against the slave-traders made some form of control on the Coast an absolute necessity. The Company of Merchants, deprived of its principal *raison d'être*, was in a moribund condition and depended entirely upon the Government for its funds. It is not surprising, therefore, that it should have been made the subject of a Parliamentary enquiry, the Commission reporting that opposition to the Slave Trade was being carried out half-heartedly and that the annual subsidy was not being spent to the best advantage. In 1821 an Act was therefore passed abolishing the Company and transferring its possessions to the Crown.* These were incorporated

* At this time the servants of the Company consisted of forty-five Europeans and approximately four hundred and fifty natives.

in the West African Settlements, with the seat of Government at Sierra Leone.

The Gold Coast had now come to be regarded as a source of unnecessary expense, and it was accordingly resolved to maintain a civil and military establishment in four forts only—Cape Coast Castle, Accra, Dixcove and Anamabo. The others were not formally abandoned but were left to care for themselves as best they could. The heritage of Company rule was not, however, to be disposed of so lightly. The wars between the Ashantis and the coastal tribes had seriously interfered with trade, and, in 1817, the first British mission had been sent to Kumasi to negotiate a permanent agreement on behalf of the Company. In the next year the British Government appointed a consular agent to the Ashanti Court and he concluded a treaty which recognized the suzerainty of the Ashanti kingdom over the coastal tribes. Unfortunately the Company's agents, owing to personal disagreements with the consul, refused to recognize this treaty, and this was naturally regarded by the Ashanti King as a direct breach of faith. When, therefore, the British Government assumed control over the Gold Coast forts in 1821, the situation was one of extreme delicacy. Sir Charles McCarthy, the new Governor, was but imperfectly informed as to the rights and wrongs of the case and grossly underestimated the strength of the Ashanti Confederacy. Calling upon the Fantis to rise against their oppressors, he marched out to meet the enemy. His little force was incompetently handled

and was completely routed at the battle of Insamankow in January, 1824, the Governor himself being amongst the slain. This serious defeat greatly lessened the prestige of the British and hostilities soon broke out afresh. Undismayed by a preliminary reverse, the Ashanti army marched on to Cape Coast Castle, where reinforcements from England had fortunately arrived at an opportune moment. They were repulsed, and a slight lull in the fighting ensued. By 1826, however, they decided on a new invasion of the coastal territories, but this time more adequate arrangements had been made for their reception. In addition to a small native militia, commanded by white officers, nearly eleven thousand native allies had come out to resist the invaders. Apart from the officers, the white troops only numbered sixty men of the Royal African Colonial Corps, but these provided an admirable support for the Fantis. On August 7th, 1826, the two armies met at Dodowa, near Accra, and the battle was keenly contested. The firing of Congreve rockets at the critical moment completely demoralized the Ashanti warriors, who broke and fled. The demon of blood lust then seized upon our native allies, and the horrible carnage that ensued served to emphasize the signal defeat of the invaders, who were taught a lesson they were not soon to forget.

From the point of view of the Home Government, however, these victories merely added to the cost of the administration, and there seemed to be no advantages to compensate for the endless expense

involved. In 1827, therefore, the Governor was instructed that every fort would shortly be evacuated and that any merchants who chose to stay on would do so at their own risk. This abdication was naturally viewed with alarm by the interested traders, who asked to be allowed to take over the forts themselves. In the following year a compromise was agreed upon. The government of the forts was vested in a Committee of London merchants trading to the Gold Coast, to which a local Council of Administration, composed of a Governor and five residents of Cape Coast and Accra, was to be responsible. The Committee itself was nominated by the Government, which also approved the appointment of the local officials. It was clearly laid down that commercial facilities were to be available to all comers and that British jurisdiction should not extend beyond the limits of the forts. The Government, for its part, guaranteed an annual subsidy of £4000.

The experiment of merchant rule which was thus inaugurated lasted for the next fifteen years, and the Committee was fortunate in securing the services of Captain George Maclean as Governor. Now, as so often in British imperial history, the enthusiasm of an active and energetic personality was to override the timidity and half-heartedness of the Home Government. Maclean arrived at Cape Coast early in 1830 and found the affairs of our settlements in a very unsatisfactory state. The Ashantis had been soundly defeated at Dodowa, but peace had not yet been

concluded with them and they might well try the fortunes of war once more. The coastal tribes had become hopelessly divided against themselves and were in no condition to offer any serious opposition to an invading army, while the authority of the British had been greatly weakened by inaction. Under these circumstances Maclean at once entered into negotiations for the termination of hostilities, and, after the display of great tact and perseverance on his part, a tripartite treaty was signed by the Governor, the King of Ashanti and the rulers of the Fanti tribes in April, 1831. The King of Ashanti renounced all claims to sovereignty over the Fantis of the coast who were the allies of Great Britain, and also appears to have recognized the British Governor as the arbitrator in disputes between the native tribes. He deposited six hundred ounces of gold in Cape Coast Castle as security for his observance of the treaty, and left two young men of his royal house as hostages in the hands of the British. All parties agreed to keep the paths into the hinterland open and free to all persons engaged in lawful traffic, and there ensued a period of ten years of unbroken peace. The results soon became apparent in the trade returns. Imports to Cape Coast, which amounted to £131,000 in 1831, had increased to over £423,000 by 1840.

The Governor succeeded in acquiring great moral prestige over the coastal tribes. 'With a corps of one hundred and twenty men, natives of the country', writes one of his officers, 'and with pecuniary re-

sources not exceeding £4000 annually, Governor Maclean maintained for a series of years an undisputed sway over an immense extent of territory, comprising a numerous population, composed of different tribes, speaking different languages, and many of them possessed of great physical power.' He was, in fact, one of the earliest pioneers of what has since been called the 'protectorate' system of government. To his contemporaries these coastal tribes were either British subjects, and therefore under English law and administration, or they were independent peoples, in which case the Governor at Cape Coast had no authority over them whatsoever. To Maclean, on the other hand, the fact that the natives had never ceded sovereign rights to this country did not mean that no control should be exercised by the Governor. Barbarous practices would have to be eradicated and conditions of life ameliorated amongst the surrounding tribes if the coastal settlements themselves were to prosper. He therefore instituted a Court at Cape Coast Castle where he administered justice, cheaply and impartially, with the assistance of the local chiefs. Moreover, a soldier was stationed in the principal towns under British influence and a beginning thus made towards policing the country. The institution of a tentative jurisdiction beyond the forts was without doubt an infringement of the terms under which merchant rule had been established. Its justification is to be sought in the popularity of the new regime amongst the natives, who gladly availed

themselves of the possibility of referring their disputes to the Governor's Court, and to the growing prosperity of the country during these years.

At home, however, a variety of accusations were being made against Maclean. His wife, a popular authoress of those days, had died suddenly and somewhat mysteriously, and ugly rumours were circulated in disparagement of her husband. Again, some passionate believers in the alleged Utopia of primitive society accused him of illegally extending the sphere of his jurisdiction, while, by others, he was counted almost a criminal for allowing domestic slavery to continue amongst the 'protected' tribes. In consequence of these various criticisms, which, incidentally, were often self-contradictory, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to investigate conditions in the West African Settlements. Its report not only exonerated Maclean from all blame but fully admitted the merits of his administration. It stated that he had acquired 'a very wholesome influence over a coast not much less than one hundred and fifty miles in extent, and to a considerable distance inland, preventing, within that range, the external Slave Trade, maintaining peace and security and exercising a useful, though irregular, jurisdiction among the neighbouring tribes.' It regarded merchant rule, however, as something of an anomaly and therefore recommended that the Crown should resume control of the Gold Coast and that an independent judicial officer should be appointed. The Government

adopted its conclusions and the forts came once again under its direct administration in 1843. The Foreign Jurisdiction Act, passed in the same year, legalized the exercise of British authority and jurisdiction beyond the limits of British territory, whether by custom or by treaty. The Gold Coast forts were henceforward under a separate Governor, who became independent of Sierra Leone in 1850 and, as was only fitting, Maclean was appointed the first Judicial Assessor of the Colony. His jurisdiction outside the walls of the forts was authorized wherever the natives voluntarily agreed to submit to it, and, for the last four years of his life, he was able to continue his work of civilization amongst the coastal tribes. His administrative and judicial methods were thus amply vindicated in his own lifetime, while, to a later age, he appears as the virtual founder of the Gold Coast Colony and the initiator of a system of legal administration which has amply proven its worth in our West African Dependencies.

A new chapter had opened in the history of the country. 'Her Majesty's Settlements on the coast of Africa' had ceased to be mere trading posts, and the local government could no longer pretend to be indifferent to the peace and prosperity of the coastal tribes. The extension of British jurisdiction, which had been legalized in 1843, necessitated a clearer definition of its local application. Negotiations with the Fantis led to the signing of an agreement, or Bond, as it was called, in March, 1844. The chiefs of 'countries

and places adjacent to Her Majesty's forts and settlements on the Gold Coast' renounced human sacrifices and certain other barbarous customs, and agreed that murder, robbery and other serious crimes should be tried by the Queen's officers, together with the chiefs of the districts, 'moulding the customs of the country to the general principles of British law'. The Bond thus gave legal recognition to the *de facto* situation which had resulted from Governor Maclean's administration and was almost tantamount to the establishment of a Protectorate over the tribes concerned.

As the years went by, the cost of administering and policing the country led the Government to look round for possible sources of revenue. So long as the Danes and the Dutch remained in possession of their forts, even though their rôle on the Coast had now become quite a secondary one, no customs duties could be levied without their willing co-operation. Previous experiments had shown that any attempt to raise revenue by a tariff on imports had merely succeeded in deflecting commerce from the British to the other foreign forts. The legality of imposing direct taxation on a country which was not technically British territory was also open to serious doubt, and it would obviously be difficult to induce the natives to pay taxes of their own free will. In 1850, however, the situation was somewhat simplified by the transfer to this country of the Danish forts. It will be remembered that the Danes had been most active in the Volta districts,

but trade had languished and their possessions were involving them in an annual deficit, with but few countervailing advantages. They therefore opened negotiations with Great Britain and were glad to part with all their forts for the sum of £10,000.* The British Government was afraid that their acquisition by any other Power might make it most difficult to keep down the Slave Trade and also hoped that it would now prove easier to levy customs duties. In this, however, it was disappointed, as the Dutch, who still owned several stations up and down the coast, consistently refused to co-operate in fiscal matters. The Governor therefore explained the situation to the local chiefs, pointing out that it was only right that they should contribute something in return for the protection they enjoyed at our hands. The well-being of the coastal peoples had certainly advanced by leaps and bounds under British protection. The arrival of missionaries in the country in Maclean's time had done something to spread civilization amongst them, while the export of palm oil had already begun to prove lucrative. It was, moreover, abundantly clear to them that, if British protection were withdrawn, they would at once fall a prey to the powerful kingdom of Ashanti. The natives assembled together in 1852, therefore, constituted themselves a 'Legislative Assembly of Native Chiefs upon the Gold Coast', under the presidency of

* Their principal fort of Christiansborg, near Accra, was first used as a lunatic asylum. It was rebuilt at a later date, and finally became the residence of the Governor of the Gold Coast.

the Governor, and passed a Poll Tax Ordinance. By its terms they voluntarily agreed to pay one shilling a head each year to the Government for every man, woman and child residing in the territories under British protection. Though difficulties in its collection prevented this tax from being as lucrative as the authorities had hoped, the Ordinance nevertheless marks a very important step towards British territorial sovereignty in West Africa.

The forward policy of the 'fifties was followed by a definite decline of interest in colonial matters in the succeeding decade. With the virtual extinction of the Slave Trade, the principal motive for maintaining our coastal settlements seemed to have disappeared. To an apathetic public at home the financial commitments they involved had become most distasteful. On the Gold Coast the merchants were anxious enough to enjoy Government protection, but were, at the same time, strongly opposed to local taxation, whether in the form of customs duties or of the poll tax, and their activities were largely responsible for making the latter almost inoperative. It was, in fact, abolished in 1861. A still further reason for withdrawing altogether was the fact that the Ashantis had begun to raid territory under British protection once again, and the prospect of fighting on a large scale was most distasteful. The preparations made to deal with an invasion, which was very much feared in 1864, were countermanded and the resultant loss in British prestige merely added to the anarchic condition of

affairs which then existed amongst the natives. A Select Committee of the House of Commons, reporting in 1865 upon the 'state of the British establishments on the Western Coast of Africa', recognized that withdrawal could not be effected immediately, but held it out as the goal to be aimed at. In a much-quoted passage it declared:

That all further extension of territory or assumption of government, or new treaties offering any protection to native tribes, would be inexpedient, and that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the governments, with a view to our ultimate withdrawal from all, except, probably, Sierra Leone.

One of its criticisms of our rule on the West Coast was the lack of co-ordination in policy between the different settlements. Communications by sea were now much better than they had been twenty years earlier, and, accordingly, the Committee recommended that all the West African Dependencies should be united once again, with Sierra Leone, as the seat of Government. This was done in 1866, but was to prove unimportant in actual practice. On the main question of withdrawal, however, the findings of the Committee ran absolutely counter to the whole trend of events. For better or for worse, our jurisdiction had been greatly extended since 1830, and there was no practical alternative save further expansion or complete withdrawal; the half-hearted compromise suggested by the Committee was to prove quite unworkable.

Not the least of our difficulties on the Gold Coast was the continued existence of Dutch factories in close proximity to our own. At Accra, for example, the British and Dutch forts were less than a mile apart. As early as 1860 a proposal had been made for redistributing the forts of the two countries so as to avoid this overlapping of influence, but opposition on the part of the natives then led to its withdrawal. Seven years later the question was reopened, and the desire of British and Dutch alike to diminish their losses and to impose customs duties in their respective spheres led to the adoption of the Sweet River, between Cape Coast and Elmina, as the frontier line. All Dutch forts to the East of that river were surrendered to Great Britain, and all British forts to the West of the river were handed over to Holland. This solution left the historical rights of the natives completely out of account. The new boundary cut across tribal divisions and ignored the nicely adjusted balance of tribal alliances. These difficulties were particularly acute to the West of the Sweet River, and the Dutch had the very greatest difficulty in taking over the former British forts. Komenda, for example, had actually to be destroyed by a Dutch fleet, and endless hostilities with the native tribes made them increasingly anxious to cut their losses and leave the Guinea Coast for ever. Accordingly new negotiations were entered into between the two Governments and a treaty of cession was duly ratified in 1872. The Dutch handed over all their possessions on the

Gold Coast in return for compensation for the value of the stores in the forts, which was afterwards assessed at the paltry sum of £3790. In addition the Dutch were given the right to recruit free labourers on the Gold Coast if the British authorities should at any time allow such persons to be recruited and sent to other British colonies. Thus ended a connection which had lasted two hundred and thirty-five years, and the old Portuguese stronghold of Elmina passed into British hands. This country might, and did, declare that 'the objects which Her Majesty's Government have throughout had in view in negotiating this treaty are not the acquisition of territory or the extension of British power, but the maintenance of tranquillity and the promotion of peaceful commerce on the Coast'. It was none the less true that Great Britain was henceforward the only European Power in this part of West Africa. Portuguese, Swedes, Brandenburgers, French, Danes and Dutch—each in turn—had come and gone. To the day of the trading factory had followed an era of limited protection over the native tribes. This, in its turn, was soon to give place to territorial jurisdiction in the fullest sense of the term. In 1872 the new period opened, and, within a very few years, the 'Scramble for Africa' was to provide endless complications for the Chancelleries of all the principal European Powers.

Chapter VI

THE GOLD COAST

1872-1927

THE passing of the Dutch had immediate repercussions upon the balance of native forces on the Gold Coast. Kofi Karikari, the King of Ashanti, contended, not entirely without reason, that Elmina really formed part of his dominions, and it was certainly true that the Dutch had paid him an annual rental for their fort in that place. He had protested strongly against its transfer to Great Britain as he felt that this might endanger the direct outlet of his people to the sea coast, from which alone they could obtain an abundant supply of powder, rum and salt. Moreover the Dutch had been in the habit of acquiring soldiers for foreign service from the hinterland, and this had been an effective way for the Ashantis to dispose of their war prisoners, who were sold as slaves in all but name. This survival of the Slave Trade would of course cease with the advent of the British, while the natives inhabiting the Elmina district, who had long been the faithful allies of the Ashantis, would henceforward be treated on the same footing as the Fantis. The virile warriors of the hinterland resented the claims of the coastal natives, whom they despised, to act as middlemen in all commercial dealings between Ashanti and the outside world. They feared, not un-

naturally, that the monopoly of the Fantis under British protection would merely be strengthened by the transfer of the Dutch forts to this country, and war therefore appeared to them as both natural and inevitable. Peace had, indeed, never been concluded with Great Britain since the Ashanti invasion of territory under our protection in 1863, and the pusillanimous conduct of our rulers, both then and during the years that followed, had not been such as to inspire respect for British power. From our point of view the war was equally inevitable. The barbarous despotism of the Ashanti kingdom made it an impossible neighbour for our Protectorate on the Gold Coast, and, when their army crossed the Pra early in 1873, the moment had come for giving them a lesson they would long remember. Unfortunately, in the early stages of the war, the local Government was unprepared and our native allies could not be persuaded to follow up the initial advantages they gained over the invaders. Their retreat became a rout; the Ashantis advanced towards the coast and actually laid siege to Elmina. Here they could count upon the support of many of the natives, though the bombardment of their town by a British force soon brought the local inhabitants to reason. The fact that the Ashantis could seriously threaten our coastal settlements produced a profound impression at home, and the Government appointed Sir Garnet Wolseley as Governor and Commander-in-Chief. The first problem which faced him on his arrival at Cape Coast in the autumn was that of cutting

off the invaders from the food supplies they were still receiving from their friends amongst the coastal natives. This was duly effected by a successful skirmish fought at Esaman, in the more immediate vicinity of Elmina. This expedition, small though it was, helped to show that the British were in earnest, but a decisive engagement was necessary before the Fanti peoples would flock to our side. Sir Garnet therefore asked for European troops to be despatched to the Coast without delay, and sent a letter to the King of Ashanti calling upon him to release his European prisoners, to give guarantees for the payment of compensation, and to withdraw his army beyond the Pra. He pointed out, at the same time, that full punishment would be meted out to him if he failed to comply with these terms. The Ashantis refused to give satisfaction to his demands, but the prevalence of sickness and despondency amongst their troops nevertheless led them to decide upon withdrawal. The Commander-in-Chief was, however, quite unable to persuade the Fantis to follow up the advantage which thus offered. 'It is impossible', he wrote, 'to exaggerate the cowardice and feebleness of the conduct of our native allies.' Thanks to this unfortunate circumstance, the Ashanti army was enabled to conduct an orderly retreat to Kumasi. The Protectorate was evacuated, and it was now the turn of the British to carry the war into the enemy's country.

Preparations were at once taken in hand for the construction of a road from Cape Coast to Prasu on the

Pra, and every effort was made to provide adequate hospital accommodation on the line of march. Meanwhile the late Administrator of Lagos, Commander (Sir) John Glover, was attempting to organize the tribes near Accra and thus threaten the Ashanti army from the East. The arrival of over two thousand five hundred white soldiers* towards the end of the year at last gave Sir Garnet Wolseley his chance. He reached Prasu on January 2nd, 1874, within a week of leaving Cape Coast, and was soon joined by a large contingent of the British troops who had newly arrived from home, the others being kept in reserve on their ships. With the Naval Brigade and a number of native levies he thus had an effective fighting force, and crossed into enemy territory on January 20th.

In a letter to the King of Ashanti the British Commander emphasized once more the unequal nature of the conflict upon which he was engaging and offered to suspend hostilities upon the immediate release of all prisoners, the payment of an indemnity of 50,000 ounces of gold, and the conclusion of a new treaty of peace, to be signed in Kumasi after hostages had been delivered for the safety of the Governor and his escort. The loss of prestige which the presence of British troops in his capital would necessarily involve, and the virtual impossibility of surrendering the highly placed personages who had been demanded as hostages, led Kofi Karikari to temporize. Our army thereupon

* Composed mainly of a battalion each of the Rifle Brigade, the Royal Welsh Fusiliers and the Black Watch.

continued its advance northwards, though, on this part of the march, it was naturally much harder to establish hospitals and proper accommodation for the troops, and the losses from sickness increased rapidly in consequence. Glover's expedition from the East had already crossed the Pra. This diversion was most helpful, more especially as it held in check enemy forces that had been detailed to cut the British line of communications. The main Ashanti army, however, was concentrated on the Kumasi road, and was encountered by Sir Garnet Wolseley on January 31st at Amoafu, where it was very strongly entrenched. Fifteen hundred Europeans and seven hundred Africans were engaged on the British side. A long and very gallant series of charges by the Black Watch, supported by Hausa artillery, finally led to the capture of the enemy's main position, and brought the British expeditionary force within fifteen miles of Kumasi. The Ashantis fought magnificently, but were unable to withstand the steady advance of thoroughly disciplined troops, combined with the murderous firing of our trained Hausa levies. Four days later a further engagement took place near the village of Odasu, where the Black Watch broke through the enemy army and advanced direct on the capital. The little British force reached Kumasi the same evening, only to find that the King had fled. Sir Garnet then sent a letter to Kofi Karikari inviting him to come in and negotiate terms of peace. He replied that he would come, but failed to do so. There was

therefore no alternative for the British Commander but to carry out the threat he had previously made and set fire to the town. All its inhabitants had now departed, and, on February 6th, the British returned to the coast leaving the Ashanti capital a mere mass of smouldering ruins. A few days later Glover's force of Hausas and local natives entered Kumasi from the East and hastened to establish contact with the main British army near Amoafu.

On February 13th Ashanti envoys met Sir Garnet Wolseley at Fomana and agreed to a treaty of peace, to which Kofi Karikari afterwards affixed his mark. The King of Ashanti undertook to pay an indemnity of 50,000 ounces of gold, '1000 ounces forthwith and the remainder by such instalments as H.M. Government may from time to time demand'; he renounced all title to tribute or homage from such of our native allies as were formerly subject to Ashanti; and undertook to maintain freedom of trade between his kingdom and the British forts on the coast, and to keep open the road from Kumasi to the River Pra. This brief campaign had shaken the power of the Ashanti Confederacy to its very foundations. The authority of the only really strong native kingdom of the hinterland was henceforward confined within its own frontiers, while its trade was thrown open to our merchants on the Coast. The barbarous practices of which complaint had been made could not, however, be eradicated in a day, in spite of the King's promise 'to use his best endeavours to check the practice of human

sacrifice'. Forces had, indeed, been set in motion which could not but lead to the disintegration of Ashanti society as hitherto constituted, but the final settlement of an alternative form of government was postponed for another quarter of a century.

On the Coast itself this campaign added enormously to the prestige of this country. We were the only European power left, and had amply demonstrated the efficacy of the resources at our disposal. At home public attention had been concentrated, for a brief moment, on this part of West Africa, and one consequence was that the Gold Coast was declared a Colony and made independent of Sierra Leone in 1874.* The Ashanti War thus marks a further step in the extension of British authority over the coastal tribes. It is true that no claim to territorial jurisdiction was advanced at this time, but the proclamation of 1874 defined the rights acquired by the Crown as including, *inter alia*, the preservation of peace and the protection of individuals and property; the administration of justice; the enactment of laws with due regard to native law and custom; the settlement of disputes arising between chiefs; the imposition of customs and licence duties; and the maintenance of an armed police force. In the same year, moreover, two slavery Ordinances were issued, the one providing for the total abolition of slave-dealing, and the other for the emancipation of existing slaves and the freedom of all

* Lagos formed part of the Gold Coast Colony from 1874 to 1886, when it also was given a Government of its own.

children born after November 5th, 1874. This second Ordinance did not make domestic slavery a crime, but merely enabled any slave who might choose to do so to acquire his freedom. The immediate results were naturally inconsiderable, as most domestic slaves were relatively well treated and by no means anxious to fend for themselves. The fact, however, that rights in slaves would no longer be recognized by the Courts, whether British or native, naturally gave every inducement to the owners to treat their slaves well and thus remove any cause for them to assert their freedom. On the other hand, goods coming from the hinterland had almost always been brought by slaves, and the passing of this Ordinance did something to divert this trade to parts of the Coast which had not yet come under European jurisdiction. It should, moreover, be remembered that towards the kingdom of Ashanti a policy of non-interference had been decided upon by the British Government. This set a definite limit to the inland penetration of the more humane views which were slowly coming to predominate in the government of all the territories under our influence.

The withdrawal of the Danes in 1850 and again of the Dutch in 1872 had left Great Britain without a rival on this part of the African Coast. In the early 'eighties, however, the situation changed considerably. Along the unoccupied coastline around Lome, to the East of the Volta mouth, rival British and German trading factories had sprung up, and constant bicker-

ings not unnaturally ensued in consequence. Animated by the new spirit of expansion which was making rapid headway in Imperial Germany, the Senates of Hamburg and Bremen petitioned Bismarck for the despatch of a warship to defend their West African interests. Early in 1884 their request was granted, and the *Sophie* arrived off Little Popo. The crew of this vessel took part in the squabbles of rival native chieftains, collected hostages, and induced some of the local rulers to ask for the annexation of their territories by Germany. With its position thus strengthened, the Imperial Government sent out a second expedition under the leadership of Dr Nachtigal, the explorer, on the warship *Möwe*. He landed at Lome in July, 1884, hoisted the German flag, and declared a Protectorate over Togoland, which thus became the first German foothold in Africa. This action definitely excluded any further expansion of the Gold Coast Colony towards the East, and an Anglo-German Commission fixed the frontier on the coast, and for a distance of two and a half miles inland, in 1886. Two years later the boundary was settled up to the confluence of the Daka and Volta Rivers, while a neutral zone was left undivided on both banks of the Volta to the North of this point.

The early 'eighties also witnessed a renewal of French interest on the Ivory Coast. The former factories at Assini and Grand Bassam, which had been abandoned in the previous decade, were now occupied afresh and the conclusion of a number of treaties with

the local chieftains greatly added to French territory. This expansion necessitated a clear delimitation of the French and British spheres. A convention signed in 1889 embodied an agreed frontier on the coast and for a few miles inland. Another convention, concluded four years later, carried the line up to the ninth parallel of latitude. The race for the hinterland was now in full swing, a fact which was not without influence in deciding British colonial policy.

The period of the 'Scramble' for West Africa coincided with the disintegration of several of the more important native dynasties. In particular, the power of the Ashanti Confederacy had been seriously undermined by Sir Garnet Wolseley's invasion of Kumasi in 1874. The defeated King Kofi Karikari was deposed when it was discovered that he 'had committed the unheard-of crime of desecrating the tombs of his ancestors', and his immediate successors were not strong enough to bring the dependent tribes back once again under what they had come to regard as the hated tyranny of Kumasi. Rival candidates for the 'Golden Stool' of Ashanti made the general confusion worse confounded, though, in 1888, one of the claimants, a youth named Prempeh, was finally enstooled in the presence of a British representative. There were grave doubts, however, as to the validity of the ceremony according to native custom and, unfortunately, the Governor of the Gold Coast declined to take advantage of the advent of the new ruler to appoint a British Resident to his dominions. The Ashantis

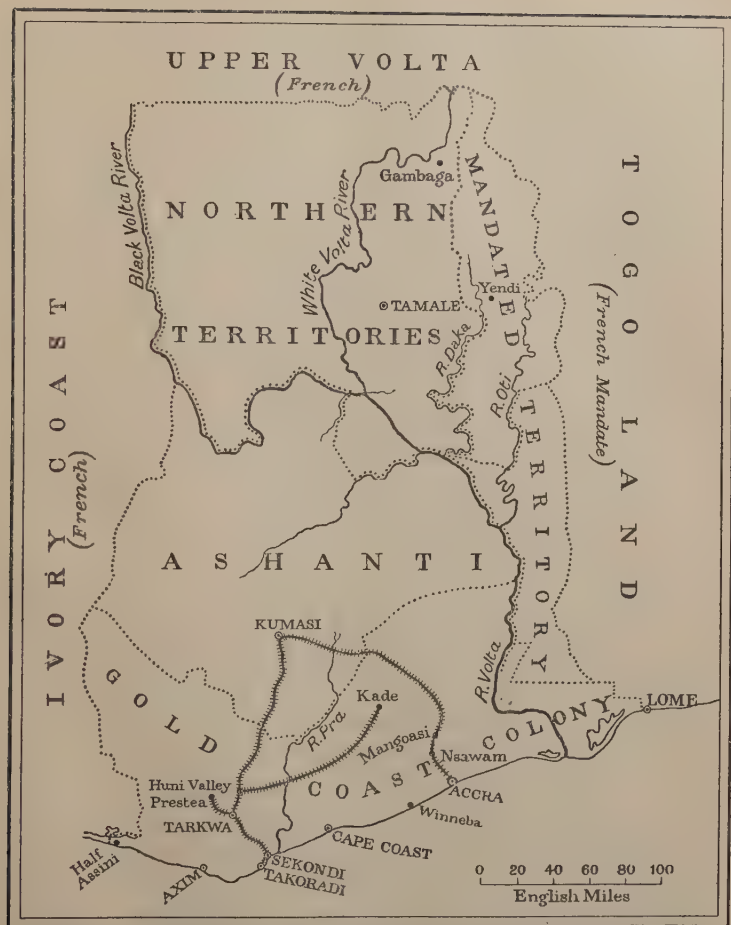
had long requested that he should do so and thus aid them in the difficult task of 'putting their country in order', and the loss of this opportunity was to prove very embarrassing a few years later.

The survival of anarchy in Ashanti naturally affected the general position on the Gold Coast. Prempeh failed to observe the conditions of the Treaty of Fomana, in which his predecessor had undertaken to keep open the road from Kumasi to the Pra and to do all in his power to prevent human sacrifices. It was becoming clear in the early 'nineties, moreover, that if British authority were not extended over Ashanti, our French or German rivals would soon step in in our stead and cut off the Gold Coast from its natural hinterland. Accordingly an offer of British protection was made to Prempeh, who as promptly declined it. The situation was already one of considerable difficulty. Prempeh himself felt that the only policy open to him was to bring the various peoples who had once been under Ashanti rule back to their earlier allegiance. Some of these, however, had migrated into the British sphere and when Prempeh threatened to attack Attabubu, which was under our protection, in 1894, it was clear that strong measures would have to be taken. Sir Francis Scott advanced with a considerable force and urged the advisability of an immediate march on Kumasi. Unfortunately the Home Government was not yet prepared for so drastic a measure and, instead of this forward policy, withdrew the troops from Attabubu,

while, at the same time, suggesting once again that Prempeh should receive a British Resident at Kumasi in return for stipends to himself and his principal chiefs. This rather involved policy produced an impression of weakness and vacillation which the King and his advisers endeavoured to turn to account. Uncertain as to the validity of his enstoolment six years previously, he was solemnly re-enstooled in the summer of 1894, and large numbers of human sacrifices celebrated the occasion. At the same time he was careful to avoid making a definite reply to the British proposals and sent a special embassy to England to endeavour to negotiate direct with the Secretary of State. British armed forces were meanwhile being collected on the Coast, and Joseph Chamberlain advised the Ashanti envoys who had come to London that the only way for Prempeh to avert the threatened expedition was for him at once to accept the proffered treaty and undertake to pay all the military expenses already incurred. The old policy of hesitation had now been definitely abandoned, but the ruler of Ashanti did not fully appreciate the significance of the change. A special mission to his Court was 'treated with contempt and insolence'. This was followed by an ultimatum calling upon him to fulfil his treaty obligations and accept a British Resident. As he still remained obdurate, the expedition, for which very careful preparations had been made, set out for Ashanti and reached Kumasi, without encountering any opposition, in January, 1896. Prempeh at once

submitted and claimed 'the protection of the Queen of England'. As he declared himself unable to pay the indemnity of 50,000 ounces of gold which was still outstanding under the terms of the Treaty of Fomana of 1874, he was deposed by the Governor and brought as a prisoner to Elmina, together with several members of his family and other Ashanti notables. The whole affair was carried out in so impressive and efficient a manner that the tribesmen were too surprised and disorganized to offer any resistance. The machinery of native rule was maintained in Ashanti under the supervision of a British Resident, but after events were to show that the problem had not yet received its final solution.

From the international standpoint, our reckoning with the King of Kumasi had not come any too soon. The French were already most active on the Upper Niger, while the Germans also had designs on the hinterland. The old dominion of the Moors had crumbled to pieces and the rule of their successors was likewise nearing its dissolution. Boîteux entered Timbuktu with a handful of Frenchmen towards the end of 1893, and was reinforced by Colonel Joffre in the following February. Very shortly afterwards the Germans sent an expedition from Togoland under Gruner. This was organized with great secrecy, and was intended to reach the Niger from the South before the French had had time to advance down the river from Timbuktu. Early in 1895 Gruner, by a series of forced marches, came very close to the Niger,



Sketch Map of the Gold Coast, Ashanti and the Northern Territories.

only to discover that the French had anticipated him. Two years later he undertook another northward march, during which he violated the neutral zone of the Upper Volta country that had been agreed upon by Great Britain and Germany in 1888 and endorsed in the 'Heligoland' Treaty of 1890. This led the British Government to denounce the agreement, and the negotiations which followed finally led to the conclusion of a new treaty in 1899. The neutral zone was divided between the two countries, the part lying to the West of the Daka River, including Gambaga, being incorporated into the Gold Coast colony, while the eastern portion, including Yendi, passed into the hands of the Germans. In this manner the native territories of Dagomba were partitioned without any regard being paid to the old tribal divisions; it was a European rather than an African solution of the problem.

The establishment of British authority over Ashanti naturally had a great influence on our claims further North. The Anglo-German Convention of 1899, for instance, would have been an impossibility but for the conclusion of a number of treaties with the native rulers of the 'Northern Territories'. These had been constituted a separate district in 1897 and placed in charge of a Commissioner of their own. Native society was in a state of anarchy which was intensified by the activities of Samori, the active and vigorous Moslem leader of the Sofas. He was a native of Segou and had long caused trouble to the French in

the Upper Niger country. Both French and British forces were operating against him, and their close proximity in the hinterland of the Gold Coast might have led at any moment to a difficult international situation. Fortunately an agreement was arrived at by the two countries in 1898 according to which the frontier between the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast was to run along the Black Volta from the ninth to the eleventh parallel, while this latter, with one or two slight modifications, should represent the extreme northern boundary of our territories in this part of Africa.

Before the end of last century the territorial limits of the Gold Coast and its dependencies had thus been definitely fixed. It was hardly to be supposed, however, that this partition of their territory amongst three European Powers would pass unnoticed by the natives. The old spirit of independence was not yet dead amongst the Ashanti tribes and no clear-cut policy towards them had yet been decided upon by their new rulers. The natives had been taken completely by surprise in 1896, but, though their King had been removed, the British suzerain had failed to obtain the 'Golden Stool' of Ashanti, which was the outward and visible sign of sovereignty and an object of the greatest veneration amongst them. To all appearances the inhabitants had settled down quite peaceably under the new regime; beneath the surface, however, the country was seething with unrest. In March, 1900, Sir Frederic Hodgson, the Governor of the Gold Coast, considered that the time had come for

some taxation to be levied in Ashanti to meet the expenses of the garrison at Kumasi. It also seemed to him that serious efforts should be made to gain possession of the 'Golden Stool' itself. He therefore proceeded to Kumasi with a small escort and entered into discussions with the Ashanti chiefs. These latter bitterly resented what they regarded as the treacherous removal of Prempeh four years earlier, and were also enraged that Fanti traders had settled in their very midst. The Governor, for his part, demanded the payment of interest on the indemnity imposed by the Treaty of Fomana, which had been allowed to lapse by the British, and also the surrender of the 'Golden Stool'. These ill-timed claims, which were not backed by the presence of an adequate military force, were followed almost immediately by open rebellion and the Ashanti tribesmen laid siege to the fort at Kumasi, where the Governor and his suite, together with a certain number of loyal natives, had been forced to take refuge. This outbreak came at a most inopportune moment, for Great Britain was still engaged in the South African War, a fact which appears to have been known to the Ashantis. The siege continued into the summer, though a part of the garrison, with the Governor at its head, succeeded in making its way through to the coast. It was not, however, until the middle of July that the Ashanti Field Force, containing reinforcements of Sikhs, Hausas from Nigeria, and contingents from Central Africa, was at last able, after severe fighting, to relieve Kumasi. On Sep-

tember 30th the insurgents were finally and signally defeated at Aboasa, and the pacification of the country proceeded apace.

This revolt did, at least, bring home to the authorities the dangers of the half-hearted compromise that had been effected in 1896. In consequence, an Order in Council of September 26th, 1901, annexed Ashanti outright and also defined its frontiers, which were, however, somewhat modified five years later in order to bring them more into harmony with tribal divisions. The new Colony was placed under a Chief Commissioner, who is himself under the Governor of the Gold Coast. At the same time a Chief Commissioner was appointed for the Protectorate of the Northern Territories, and the three main political units thus established—comprising two Colonies and a Protectorate—have lasted down to the present day, though the administrative divisions within them have been altered during the course of the last twenty-five years.

The gradual expansion of political control into the hinterland was not without its influence on the economic life of the country. After the effective abolition of the Slave Trade, the principal product of this part of West Africa was palm oil, while the victorious conclusion of the Ashanti War of 1874 led to a new interest being taken in prospecting for gold. This was followed by a miniature gold rush in the early 'eighties, though the absence of adequate transport facilities and the deadly nature of the climate together hindered this

first attempt at capitalistic exploitation of the mines. In 1898, however, the first railway of the Colony was started from Sekondi to tap the gold-producing country of the hinterland. The last Ashanti War delayed construction, as nearly all the available labour was needed for military purposes. Meanwhile thousands of mining concessions had been granted by the local native chiefs, and a second gold rush followed the completion of the railway to Tarkwa in 1901. The political situation after the reconquest of Ashanti combined with the lessons of the recent campaign to emphasize the need for more efficient means of communication into the interior. The Government therefore decided to extend the existing railway line inland with the least possible delay, and Kumasi, which is one hundred and sixty miles distant from the harbour of Sekondi, was actually reached by the end of 1903. In this manner most of the goldfields of the Gold Coast and Ashanti were brought within fairly easy reach of the sea, and the output of the precious metal increased, with temporary setbacks, from 71,000 oz. in 1903, to the record figure of 462,000 oz. in 1915. Since that date the gold-mining industry has been faced with a serious rival for the available labour supplies of the country in the form of cocoa, and the output has declined to less than a quarter of a million ounces in consequence.

While the World War delayed the economic development of the country in some directions it also led to an extension of the territories under British

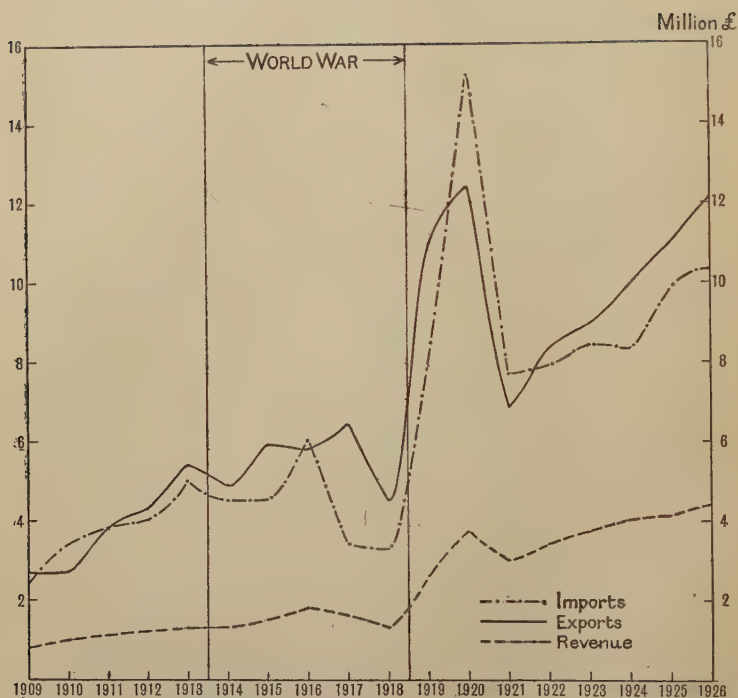
jurisdiction. Within a month of the outbreak of hostilities in August, 1914, a few young British officers, commanding a small force of native soldiers, had overrun the neighbouring German colony of Togoland from the West, while our French allies advanced from the North and the East. The Germans surrendered unconditionally and Togoland was provisionally divided into a French and British sphere of administration. After the War this arrangement was somewhat modified. Lome and the coastline were handed over to France, Great Britain receiving a narrow strip along the Western Frontier. This territory, of approximately thirteen thousand square miles, is held by us under the terms of a Mandate confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations on July 20th, 1922. The northern section of our mandated territory is administered as if it formed part of the Northern Territories Protectorate, while the southern section is administered as part of the Eastern Province of the Gold Coast Colony proper. But the War not only added to the territory under British rule in West Africa, it also demonstrated in a remarkable degree the loyalty of its peoples to the Empire as a whole. Troops from the Gold Coast fought in the Cameroons and in East Africa, as well as in the more immediate vicinity of their homes, and, by voluntary contributions and in various other ways, the inhabitants of the Colony and its dependencies bore practical testimony to their appreciation of the *pax Britannica*, which had brought them a just and impartial administration and a degree

of material prosperity hitherto unknown in their history.

One of the most interesting features of the economic development of the Gold Coast in the present century has been the rise of cocoa. The origin of this crop, which now dominates the export trade of the country, is to be sought in the year 1879, when a Fanti, who had been working in the island of Fernando Po, brought back some seeds with him on his return to his native land and found that they did well there. In the year 1900, however, the total export of cocoa was still but little over 500 tons, but this had risen to close on 40,000 tons by 1911. In that year the construction of a second railway line from the coast to the hinterland was taken in hand. This started at Accra and went by way of Nsawam to Mangoasi, which was reached by the end of the following year. The War delayed further progress, and the extension to Kumasi, which is 192 miles from Accra, was not completed until 1923. At the present time the capital of Ashanti is connected with the coast by two railway trunk lines, the western, to Sekondi, serving the gold-mining districts and the cocoa lands of the interior, and the eastern, to Accra, traversing the rich cocoa-growing districts near the coast. In addition, the construction of a line running almost due East from Huni Valley, on the western railway, to Kade, some ninety-eight miles away, which was opened in 1927, has brought a country rich in mahogany and cocoa within easy reach of the outer world. The revolution

in transport facilities*—and it should be remembered that in addition to the railways, over 4000 miles of motor roads have already been constructed—has led to an enormous expansion in the volume of trade, of which some idea may be obtained from the accompanying diagram. Exports of cocoa have advanced from nearly 53,000 tons in 1914, to 66,000 tons in 1918, and to 230,000 tons in 1926. In this latter year cocoa represented four-fifths of the country's exports, while the Gold Coast produced nearly one-half of the total world production of that commodity. It cannot, of course, be denied that this excessive dependence upon one crop is not without its dangers. Of recent years the Government has done its best to encourage other types of production, and every effort has also been made to improve the quality of the cocoa itself by grading the exports and endeavouring to secure the adoption of more rational methods of cultivation. This has not been easy to accomplish, for cocoa is almost exclusively a native crop, grown by African farmers in small family patches. Indeed, its phenomenal success, which owes practically nothing directly to European capital, is not the least significant feature of modern African economic history. One may be permitted to wonder even so whether so rapid an

* Some reference must be made to the construction, at a cost of over £3,250,000, of a first-class harbour at Takoradi, which will be able to cope with the greatly increased volume of foreign trade. This was opened early in the present year by a former Secretary of State for the Colonies. Sekondi will probably fade into insignificance and the surf boat remain as a mere memory on this part of the coast.



**Foreign Trade and Revenue of the Gold Coast and its Dependencies,
1909-1926.**

increase of wealth will not bring with it certain serious dangers to the social organization of primitive society. Moreover, should the cocoa crop of the Colony, or conditions of the world market for cocoa, for any reason fall far short of anticipation in any given year, the economic consequences to the Gold Coast might prove most serious. Hitherto, however, the remarkable advance in Government revenue which has followed the expansion of foreign trade, has enabled much to be done for the welfare of the natives. Hospitals have been constructed and public health services have been improved beyond recognition, while, in another sphere, the opening of the Prince of Wales College at Achimota, where an attempt is being made 'to elevate the masses through their own leaders', marks the beginning of a most interesting experiment in African education.

It is impossible to do more than refer to one or two of the more significant developments in British native policy of recent years. In Ashanti the goodwill of the population and the wisdom of the Government were clearly shown during the events which followed the discovery of the 'Golden Stool' in 1921. Several Ashantis, including one of the leading chiefs, stripped this sacred emblem of its gold, and were promptly arrested. The Government declared to the Council of Chiefs at Kumasi that it laid no claim to the stool, which it regarded as the property of the Ashanti nation, and handed over its desecrators to them for trial. A difficult crisis was thereby overcome with

conspicuous success. Two years later the Government went a step further by allowing the exiled King Prempeh to return to his native land and followed this up by reinstating him as the Paramount Chief of Kumasi in 1926. Acts of this kind have done much to make for cordial relations between the rulers and the ruled.

The period of office of Sir Gordon Guggisberg as Governor (1919–1927), which witnessed so striking an advance in the economic development of the country, was also remarkable for a movement towards self-government in the Gold Coast Colony proper. For thirty years unofficial members had been nominated to the Legislative Council, but their number was increased in 1916, when three Europeans, three Paramount Chiefs and three other native Africans became members. In May, 1925, a new Constitution was granted which introduced the elective principle. Of the twenty-nine members of the Legislative Council fifteen are officials, and the Governor is thereby assured of a majority. Nine of the unofficial members, however, are Africans. Of these, three are elected by the towns of Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi; but the real interest of the experiment lies in the method of election of the remaining six. These are Head Chiefs who are elected in each of the three provinces of the Colony by a Provincial Council of Head Chiefs. The Order in Council instituting the new Constitution provides further that ‘the Provincial Councils may also discharge such other functions as may from time

to time be assigned to them by ordinance'. Here, then, is the nucleus of a system of government in accordance with native ideas which cannot fail to grow in importance in the future. 'Apart from discharging any function that may be allotted to them by legislation,' writes Sir Gordon Guggisberg, 'and also apart from their electoral powers, the Provincial Councils fulfil three very valuable objects: they give the Head Chiefs and their Councillors the opportunity of uniting for the preservation of their national institutions, of consulting together on subjects to the common welfare of their respective peoples, and, finally, of examining and advising government on any proposed legislation affecting the people.' As 'sovereignty in the Gold Coast tribes lies in the people themselves who elect their Chiefs and who can, if they so desire, deprive them of office', it will be seen that this new experiment in government is conceived on most democratic lines. It has, it is true, been opposed by a number of educated natives, and attempts to institute municipal self-government in the coastal towns have not hitherto proved a conspicuous success. The educated native, here as elsewhere, has been influenced very largely by European customs and ideas, though it must be added that, on the Gold Coast, this does not necessarily imply the renunciation of membership in a native 'stool'. The spirit of independence which has always characterized the Fanti peoples under British rule may well complicate the political situation in this as in other respects. It is none the less grati-

fyng to see that every effort is being made to maintain and improve the tribal organization of what will one day become the Gold Coast nation, and it is much to be hoped that the future will witness a measure of progress in the social sphere worthy of comparison with the truly remarkable advance in the economic and material well-being of the people which has been achieved in the first quarter of the present century.

Chapter VII

THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH INFLUENCE IN NIGERIA

NIGERIA, the largest and, in many ways, the most promising of all our West African Dependencies, was the last to come under British rule. Parts of its coastland, however, had been known from the very earliest days of British trading to the Tropics. Hakluyt describes a voyage of London merchants to Benin in the year of the Armada, but the palm oil and elephants' teeth, which then appear as the principal products of trade, were soon to give place to that odious traffic in human beasts of burden which earned for this part of the Dark Continent the ominous appellation of the 'Slave Coast'.* In the eighteenth century the native chiefs who ruled over the country adjoining the mouths of the Oil Rivers waxed fat upon the fruits of commerce in their fellow-men. The standard price for a slave was in the neighbourhood of twenty pounds, and this was usually paid in British merchandise. After the prohibition of the Slave Trade to British nationals in 1807, the wide lagoons, which had given Lagos its name, together with the innumerable creeks and estuaries of the Oil Rivers, which Lander proved, in 1830, to be none other than

* This term should, strictly, be reserved for Dahomey and Lagos only.

the delta of the Niger itself, still remained a happy hunting-ground for Portuguese and Brazilian slavers. Of organized government on this coast there was none. The country was ruled by innumerable native kinglets who were frequently at war with one another. The representatives of European civilization were mainly half-caste slavers and money-grabbing traders. At the same time some check upon this welter of disintegration was provided by a British naval squadron which operated upon the West Coast in a never-ceasing endeavour to suppress the nefarious traffic which Europeans had done so much to foster in earlier days.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, three factors were operating to herald a new era. In the first place, with the gradual abolition of slavery throughout the world, the demand for slaves for export had fallen off considerably. In its stead there sprang up an important trade in palm oil, which was bartered by the natives for manufactured products down to the end of the century. Ships coming over the bars of these rivers first paid 'comey', or port dues, to the local chiefs. They then settled down to months of barter with the natives, a process entailing considerable loss of life through disease amongst their crews. As time went on and conditions became more settled, permanent hulks were established for regular trading purposes, and these were visited periodically by ships from home. Whatever may be said against the agents and supercargoes left in charge on the

Coast and river banks—and they were commonly known as ‘palm oil ruffians’—there can be little doubt that, by encouraging commerce, they provided an alternative to slave-raiding and prepared the way for civilized rule.

More romantic, though still not unmixed with ulterior motives, was the movement towards inland penetration, which was greatly stimulated by the monumental discovery of the brothers Lander. Once viewed as the outlet of a mighty river, the Oil Rivers acquired a new importance, for the Niger was the highway into a vast and unknown hinterland. A year after the Landers returned to England, Macgregor Laird, the enterprising founder of a shipbuilding firm at Birkenhead, organized his first expedition up the river (1832). Its object was ‘to open a direct communication with the interior of Africa, and if this were successful, to establish a permanent settlement at the junctions of the Tchadda (Benue) and Niger, for the purpose of collecting the various products of the country’. But the climate proved disastrous, and of the forty Europeans who started, only eight survived, Lander himself being mortally wounded by the natives. In 1841 another expedition of quite a different character made its way up the difficult waters of the Lower Niger. At the inspiration of the ‘Society for the Extinction of the Slave-Trade and the Civilization of Africa’, of which the Prince Consort was President, the Government of the day sent three ships up the river to work for the abolition of slave-

trading and the establishment of a model farm, which was intended to furnish a practical example of modern agricultural methods and thus lay the foundations of a new prosperity for the natives. Treaties were made with the local chiefs, but the farm, which was situated near the confluence of the Niger and the Benue, was a lamentable failure and was abandoned in the following year. Disease took a heavy toll of the members of this humanitarian, as of the earlier commercial venture. But, albeit in a rather vague manner, the sphere of British influence was extended and it was made clear to the riverine natives that our Government was resolutely opposed to slave-trading.

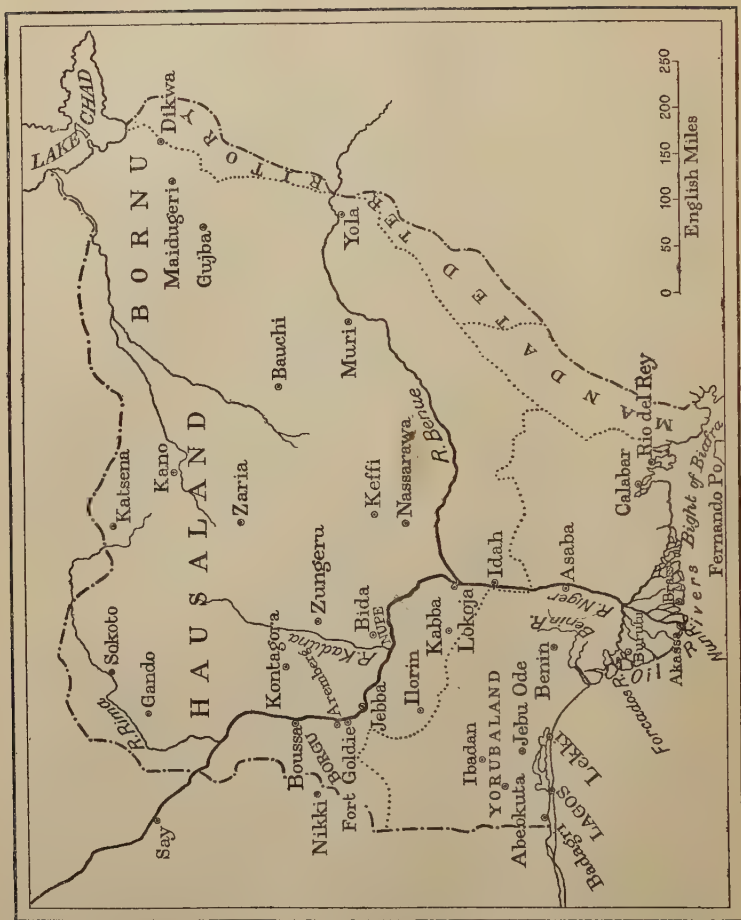
It was this same humanitarian motive which led to the gradual establishment of British consular jurisdiction along the coast of what is now Southern Nigeria. In 1827 Spain had allowed England to establish a naval base on Fernando Po. Here our ships could refit, and the island was in many ways better placed for the reception of recaptured slaves than was Sierra Leone. Six years later, however, the embryo colony was given up on account of the great mortality amongst Europeans, though it was not until 1842 that Spain reasserted her claims. Many coloured British subjects continued to live on the island, and it is perhaps not surprising that Fernando Po should have been chosen as the centre for the first British consular agent to this part of the West Coast when he was appointed by Palmerston in 1849. It was the duty of this officer to safeguard the interests of British subjects

trading in the Bights of Benin and Biafra and to make every effort to suppress slave-trading in the wide area under his consular jurisdiction. The first man to be appointed—John Beecroft—was already acting for the Spaniards as their Governor of Fernando Po. With a wide local experience and first-hand acquaintance with the workings of the native mind, he was successful in negotiating a large number of treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade with the petty kings of the Oil Rivers country. He travelled widely and did much to make the name of this country respected throughout these troubled lands.

One of the principal obstacles to British humanitarian activities on the Slave Coast was the small native kingdom of Lagos. Established by settlers from the mainland in the eighteenth century, the local dynasty felt strong enough, about the year 1830, to cast off its allegiance to its overlord at Benin. Originally an agricultural community, this petty kingdom soon became little more than a 'haunt of piratical slave-dealers'. Its situation, on a lagoon running some two hundred miles from Badagri to the Benin River, marked it out as a slaving-centre and made British naval control most difficult. In 1851 Palmerston issued instructions to Consul Beecroft and the British naval officer in command in West African waters, to present Kosoko, who had usurped the kingship of Lagos six years previously, with proposals for a treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

This was done and the proposals declined, Kosoko going so far as to declare that he did not want the friendship of England. Force was the only possible reply to so truculent an attitude, and a naval attack was made on the island. This proved unsuccessful, as the natives, with the help of renegade slave-traders, had organized a stout resistance. A month later, however—on December 28th, 1851—a landing was made and Kosoko was expelled from Lagos. In his place, the rightful King, Akitoye, was reinstated, but not until he had concluded a treaty with the British authorities which abolished slavery and human sacrifices, guaranteed freedom of trade, and provided protection for missionaries and their converts. A British consulate was established to ensure that these terms were duly carried out and to afford protection to British subjects on the island. In 1853 the Consul at Lagos became responsible for the territories lying between Cape St Paul and the Nun River, while the Bight of Biafra remained under his colleague at Fernando Po. These events bore witness to increasing British interest in West Africa and, although active consular jurisdiction at Lagos was confined to the island itself, while even this was in no sense British territory, the greater security which followed provided an immediate stimulus to trade. Missionaries also established themselves in larger numbers and European influences increased. The rôle of the Consul was nevertheless a difficult one. He had no jurisdiction over foreigners, and the absence of an armed force

made it hard for him to assert his authority over British subjects. Many of these were ex-slaves from Sierra Leone who had taken the opportunity of returning to their native Yorubaland, but who were not always averse to a little mild slave-owning of their own. Occasional visits from British men-of-war, however, gave a certain prestige to the representative of this country and enabled Dosumo, the eldest son and rightful heir of our protégé, Akitoye, to succeed to the kingship on the death of his father. But commercial expansion made it imperative that the political future of Lagos should be adequately assured, while the final suppression of the Slave Trade in the Bight of Benin called for some permanent British settlement on the lagoon. Accordingly Palmerston, who was Prime Minister in 1861, instructed the Consul at Lagos to negotiate a treaty of cession with Dosumo, giving it clearly to be understood that coercion would be resorted to if negotiations failed. When all was said, the ruler of Lagos owed his position solely to British protection, and a pension of £1000 a year and the retention of his kingly title overcame any hesitation Dosumo may have felt on the matter. In 1861 Lagos thus became a Crown Colony and the first British possession in what is now Nigeria. Its limits were far from extensive, even after successful negotiations with Kosoko had induced that convinced opponent of British influence to cede the lands he had kept on his expulsion from Lagos in 1851 and to accept a pension in their stead. By the end



Sketch Map of Nigeria.

of 1863 British territory comprised, in addition to the islands of Lagos and Iddo, a coastal strip some ten miles deep, with Badagri as the western and Lekki as the eastern limit. Nowhere did the Colony proper extend for more than thirty miles inland. It was, however, the main trading outlet for the admirable waterways leading to an important hinterland, and the Colony was self-supporting almost from the very beginnings of British rule.

While these significant events were taking place on the Lagos coast, the British were not inactive in the Niger country proper. Previous failures did not prevent the indefatigable Macgregor Laird, helped by a government subsidy, from organizing yet another expedition in 1854 with a view to assisting the great explorer Heinrich Barth and to exploring the Benue River. In point of fact, Barth returned from the northern Emirates without their assistance, but the expedition, which set out in the *Pleiad* under the command of Dr W. B. Baikie, R.N., explored the Benue for some three hundred and fifty miles above its junction with the Niger, and this, be it said, without the loss of a single life. Baikie had insisted on every precaution—including a daily ration of quinine—being taken to safeguard the health of those under his charge, and his policy was crowned with success. A new era was gradually opening in African travel and the future seemed full of promise. Encouraged by these results—and the expedition had not only ex-

plored but traded, and taken a native missionary with it as well—the Government entered into a fresh contract with Macgregor Laird in 1857. In return for an annual subsidy, he undertook to maintain a ship on the Niger for a period of five years. The first expedition under this agreement left later in the same year in the *Dayspring*. Dr Baikie was once more in charge and with him was Lieutenant J. H. Glover, R.N., who was soon to leave his mark on the infant colony of Lagos. This time, however, fortune proved less favourable, for the *Dayspring* was wrecked at Jebba. Nothing daunted, Baikie entered into contact with the natives and finally established a trading-post on the site of the moribund model farm at Lokoja near the confluence of the Niger and the Benue. In the next five years left him of life he had innumerable difficulties to contend with. The European merchants of the delta and the native middlemen with whom they traded were equally anxious to prevent the infant British settlement from dealing direct with the actual producers up-country, while all the sinister elements which still thrived on the inland traffic in slaves were most disturbed at this intrusion of legitimate traders into their preserves. The difficulties of navigation on the Niger made the policing of the river a delicate task, and attacks on British gunboats were not unknown. To make matters worse, Macgregor Laird died in 1861, and his death removed one of the most faithful friends of the new settlement. Nevertheless Baikie held on gamely. He could report to the

Foreign Office that Lokoja had become a town, with a market much frequented by local natives; peace prevailed in its immediate neighbourhood and the highways to Nupe and Bornu were open. Indeed, this active pioneer of empire, who was respected for his strength of character and his real moral superiority, no less than for his sympathetic understanding of the native point of view, actually penetrated as far afield as Kano, and prepared the way for trade with the Western Sudan. After his death in 1864 a British consulate was maintained at Lokoja for the next five years. Troubles with recalcitrant natives and the difficulties of navigation on the Niger, which made it extremely hard to afford adequate protection to the consular officer himself, led, however, to his withdrawal in 1869. Expansion in West Africa was, for the moment, at a discount, and Government action in the Niger valley was reduced to a minimum.

The 'seventies witnessed a marked increase in the activities of private traders. Penetration into the hinterland had not gone very far, it is true, but changes in industrial processes at home were slowly leading to an increased demand for tropical products and, in particular, for vegetable oils. This, combined with more stable conditions on the Coast, was reflected in the growing prosperity of Lagos. In the Niger delta, again, factories were established on shore in place of the hulks which had predominated hitherto. Their sites, however, remained the property of the native

chiefs. Settlements, like those of Old Calabar or Brass, were either leased from the local rulers or else held in return for the payment of 'comey' on the goods traded in. At the same time these factories were usually mere units of made land in the midst of endless mangrove swamps and thus little more than territorial hulks. By an Order in Council of 1872 the British Consul at Fernando Po was empowered to exercise jurisdiction in criminal matters over British subjects residing in this delta country. Most of the trade was, in fact, in British hands, though our merchants were engaged in very keen competition with one another. In 1877 a young engineer officer, George Goldie Taubman (Sir George Taubman Goldie as he afterwards became), arrived on the Niger delta. The possibility of adding a new province to the British Empire led him to concentrate his attention for the moment on the Oil Rivers district. Two years later he had succeeded in inducing the principal British trading companies to combine forces, and the United African Company was the result. By the late 'seventies, however, colonial expansion had once again become popular in France, and two French companies—the *Société française de l'Afrique Equatoriale* and the *Compagnie de Sénégal*—both of which could count on the active support of their Government so long as Gambetta was in power, had opened trading-centres on the Lower Niger. This fact completely revolutionized the situation on the coast, a region which had long been a virtual preserve of British interests. Here, as else-

where, it was private initiative rather than governmental effort which was to safeguard our national position. Goldie increased the capital of his company from £100,000 to £1,000,000 and its name was changed to the National African Company (1882). Meanwhile, disasters in Tonkin had somewhat damped the ardour of the French for colonial adventures, and the death of Gambetta deprived the French Companies of their strongest supporter. In consequence of this, the National African Company succeeded in buying out its continental rivals in 1884 and, when the Conference of Berlin opened later in the same year, trade on the Middle and Lower Niger was entirely in British hands. It was thanks to this fortunate consummation that the British Government was made responsible for the application of the regulations agreed upon by the Conference for navigation on the Lower Niger, a decision which was tantamount to recognizing British influence in that region.

Taking the coastline of the Bight of Biafra as a whole, however, British influence suffered a severe setback in 1884. Consular jurisdiction was, of course, of old standing, and, in the early 'eighties, it was seriously discussed at home whether this should not give place to some form of Protectorate, for which many of the native chiefs had been clamouring. In 1884, indeed, Consul Hewett was instructed to conclude treaties in this sense with the local rulers of the Oil Rivers country, and he even ascended the Niger and Benue and made treaties with the up-river

chiefs.* But on the Cameroon Coast, where treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade and for the protection of commerce in general had been concluded from the 'forties onwards, the decision of the British Government to negotiate new treaties and proclaim a Protectorate was taken too late. Dr Nachtigal, arriving on the German warship *Möwe*, anticipated Consul Hewett by a week, and negotiated treaties with the local chiefs on July 12th, 1884. These were followed, two days later, by the solemn proclamation of a German Protectorate over the Cameroons. This action was acquiesced in by the British Government, and an important country, where British trade had long predominated, thus passed into the hands of a foreign power.

The moral of the 'Scramble for Africa' was not entirely lost on the British Government. It was at last realized that, if action were not taken soon, our influence might be circumscribed still further. The rôle of the British on the Lower Niger had been virtually recognized at Berlin, but it had been held, as a general principle, that occupation, to be valid, must also be effective, at least so far as the coast was concerned. Accordingly, on June 5th, 1885, Great Britain declared a Protectorate over the Niger districts. These were

* In many cases, treaties had already been negotiated by the agent of the National African Company earlier in the same year; when this was so, the treaties concluded by the consul were expressly subject to the prior treaties with the Company—a somewhat anomalous state of affairs in view of the fact that the Company had not as yet obtained a Charter.

stated to comprise the 'territories in the line of coast between the British Protectorate of Lagos and the right or western bank of the mouth of the Rio del Rey', while they also included the territories on both banks of the Niger up to Lokoja, together with both banks of the Benue as far as Ibi. This proclamation also referred to measures which would be taken for the administration of justice and the maintenance of peace and good order, but for the next six years our Protectorate, which was placed under the Foreign Office, only existed on paper.

Chapter VIII

THE ROYAL NIGER COMPANY

POLITICIANS at Westminster found their time fully occupied with domestic affairs in the middle 'eighties. Popular opinion was not yet ripe for colonial expansion on the grand scale and the task of developing, and thereby safeguarding, British claims in the Niger country fell to those commercial interests more directly involved. It was indeed fortunate that here, as in South Africa, Great Britain found a far-sighted champion of her national claims. George Taubman Goldie, as we have seen, had already organized the National African Company and bought out its rivals. By the treaties concluded by its agent in 1884 with thirty-seven native chiefs in the Niger valley, the Company had acquired territorial concessions and the right to exclude foreign settlers. To make good these claims, and, above all, to exercise jurisdiction over traders, British and foreign, within the limits of its concessions, it was essential for the Company to acquire a status superior to that of an ordinary trading concern. Goldie had been pressing for a Charter for some years, but the Government was inclined to look askance at this revival of earlier methods of colonial expansion, since the demand for a monopoly of trade, which was steadily urged by the promoters of the scheme, clashed with the doctrine of freedom of trade, which was then

in the ascendancy. But Great Britain had undertaken certain obligations in respect of navigation on the Niger, and 'the cheapest and most effective way of meeting them would be by the employment of the National African Company'. In principle, the granting of a Charter was accepted early in 1885, but interminable delays prevented this from being actually effected. Sir George Goldie thereupon engaged in a game of bluff. He threatened to sell the treaties of the Company to a foreign Power and to confine its trading enterprise to the territory thus ceded. At law this claim on the part of a British Company to transfer territory to a foreign Government without the consent of Great Britain was, of course, quite untenable, but the bluff partially succeeded. Chambers of Commerce supported Goldie's demand for a Charter, and it really only remained to agree upon its precise terms. The grant of a monopoly, against British subjects and in violation of the principles of the free-trade zone in Africa, which had been agreed upon with Germany and other foreign Powers, was, however, out of the question. On this point the Company was obliged to give way, although, as we shall see, the desire for a monopoly in actual fact, if not at law, was to remain the corner stone of its policy. On July 10th, 1886, therefore, the Charter was granted and the National African Company was transformed into the Royal Niger Company Chartered and Limited, with Lord Aberdare as its first Governor and Sir George Goldie as Deputy-Governor.

The Royal Niger Company was the first of the three Chartered Companies formed in the 'eighties to represent British interests in Africa. It was virtually an agent of the British Government, and was authorized to exercise jurisdiction over the territories acquired by virtue of the thirty-seven original treaties with native chiefs. The Company was also empowered to negotiate further treaties, though these were to be subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. To regularize the situation, a proclamation of October 18th, 1887, stated that the British Protectorate, declared in 1885, should include 'all territories in the basin of the Niger and its affluents, which are, or may be for the time being subject to the government of the National African Company, now called the Royal Niger Company'. Four years later (July, 1891), when consular rule over the coast districts was made more effective, the coastline between the Nun and Forcados Rivers, a matter of some hundred miles, was left in the jurisdiction of the Company and thus separated the eastern from the western territories administered by the Foreign Office. Apart from a coastal station first at Akassa, on the Nun mouth, and later at Burutu, on the Forcados River, the Company's settlements were all situated up-stream. The rather vague term of 'Niger basin', which was used to describe its territory, left the limit to northern expansion entirely undefined.

Within the sphere of its activity, the Company was empowered to exercise jurisdiction over all lands which

had been acquired by treaty from the natives, subject only to the proviso that no private property should be expropriated without adequate compensation. Moreover, the Company was entitled to levy customs dues, but solely with a view to meeting the actual expenses of government. These were assessed at £90,000 a year, and its administrative budget was subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. Above all, no monopoly of trade was allowed. 'Trade with the Company's territories under our protection shall be free and there shall be no differential treatment of the subjects of any Power as to settlement or access to markets, but foreigners alike with British subjects will be subject to administrative dispositions in the interests of commerce and order'. It was, of course, also stipulated that the Company should do all in its power to suppress the Slave Trade.

Such were the main outlines of this compromise between trading interests and government obligations which inaugurated the new era of chartered company rule. For the next thirteen years the Royal Niger Company greatly extended the sphere of British influence in the hinterland of our coastal Protectorate. It added to the long list of treaties with native rulers and, as its activities extended inland, it found itself more and more in conflict with the interests of other European Powers. Its initiative won a rich tropical dependency for the Empire, and this must remain its chief title to fame. Unfortunately the methods it adopted with this end in view were not

always consistent with the spirit of modern British colonial expansion, though criticism of its monopolistic activities should not be allowed to obscure its great achievement in empire-building.

The movement of inland expansion initiated by the Company followed the valleys of the Niger and the Benue. Lokoja, founded by Baikie and situated about 300 miles from the sea, was marked out by nature as a trading-post, and soon became an important collecting-centre for the products of the hinterland. Lokoja was also the military headquarters of the Company, while its administrative capital was at Asaba, about half-way between Lokoja and the river mouth. Most of the export trade, however, was in palm oil and kernels, which were essentially the products of the southern territories; these, therefore, had perforce to be brought under some form of control. But Sir George Goldie had always shown great interest in the possibilities of the northern Emirates, which had more varied products, such as hides and cotton, to offer. Even before it acquired its Charter, the National African Company had negotiated treaties with Sokoto and Gando (June, 1885). In return for an annual subsidy, these rulers ceded certain rights over such of their territories as lay for a distance of ten hours' journey inland on both banks of the Benue and the Niger, granting the Company the sole privilege, among foreigners, of trading and mining in their dominions, and undertaking not to enter into relations with Europeans save through the Company. Although

the immediate value of these concessions was somewhat problematic, they nevertheless definitely excluded foreigners from the field and held out considerable hopes for trade in the future. On the strength of these agreements, moreover, coupled with the general principle of French influence on the Upper Niger and British influence on the Lower Niger, which had been recognized by implication at the Conference of Berlin, an Anglo-French Convention was signed in 1890. The British Government acknowledged a French sphere of influence, extending from the Mediterranean across the Sahara and into the Western Sudan 'up to a line from Say on the Niger to Baruwa on Lake Chad, drawn in such a manner as to comprise in the sphere of action of the Niger Company all that fairly belongs to the kingdom of Sokoto'. The important territories of Nigeria north of the Niger and the Benue were thus recognized by France as falling within the British sphere. At this time, be it noted, the authority of the Company nowhere extended for more than twenty miles beyond the rivers, though the waterways themselves were, in the main, subject to its control.

French expansion from the Mediterranean southwards was thus confined within fairly well-defined limits, but the same was not true of French activities to the south of the Niger and to the west of the British sphere. The first Anglo-French frontier agreement on the coast East of Lagos was indeed concluded in 1889, but the acquisition of Dahomey four years later gave our continental rivals a new base for ex-

pansion into a hinterland where European penetration had hardly yet begun. Indeed, Dahomey was at once regarded as a convenient stepping-off ground for a French advance towards the countries lying in the great 'Bend of the Niger'. From the British point of view, it was argued that the choice of the Say-Baruwa line in 1890 set a definite limit to French expansion down-stream, and that the eastern frontier of our sphere should, by implication, be regarded as a line from Say to the recognized international boundary on the Lagos coast. From this it would follow that Borgu was in the British sphere, and the Company had, indeed, concluded a treaty with the ruler of Boussa. This view of the matter did not fit in with French aspirations, and the Government of the Third Republic advanced the theory that the King of Boussa was, in point of fact, subordinate to the King of Nikki. It therefore sent a mission, under Captain Decœur, to negotiate a treaty with that potentate in 1894. To make assurance doubly sure, the Company resolved to conclude a treaty themselves with Nikki, and were fortunate in obtaining the services of Captain Lugard, who had already made a name for himself in East Africa, for the purpose. Although he started on his mission some weeks later than his French rival, Lugard succeeded in marching, in the very middle of the rainy season, some two hundred miles through the hitherto unpenetrated country which separates Jebba from Nikki, and concluded a treaty with Bariba, King of Nikki and alleged overlord of Borgu, five days

before the arrival of Decœur. Thanks, therefore, to this *tour de force*, the western frontier of the British sphere on the Lower Niger seemed, for the moment, to be guaranteed against French aggression.

The Royal Niger Company was not, however, as yet secure in its claims over territories nearer its principal river bases than the distant lands of Borgu. The Sultan of Sokoto, although bound by treaty with the Company, did not look upon British expansion with a friendly eye. His vassals of Bida and Ilorin, for their part, showed open hostility to the activities of the Company's agents, and engaged in annual slave raids across the river, advancing southwards so far as Kabba and even further. In 1897 the Company therefore decided to organize a strong military expedition to bring this outpost of Fulah slavers to reason. It was assisted by the loan of a number of enthusiastic regular officers who volunteered their services for the campaign, and the operations were crowned with success. Bida itself was captured, but the military resources of the Company were not sufficient to enable it to remain in possession of the conquered territories. Moreover, the French had profited by these disturbances and proceeded, though not without a considerable amount of fighting, to lay hands on Nikki and Boussa, in defiance of British treaty rights. They then established a number of posts on the right bank of the Niger between Say and Boussa. In justification of their action, they claimed these territories by virtue of effective occupation, a doctrine which France itself

had declined to accept with reference to the African hinterland at the Conference of Berlin twelve years earlier. The Company could also point to the fact that it had already established a post at Fort Goldie, which is within the territorial limits of Borgu. The situation had thus become most critical by the summer of 1897 and the British Government, which, under the inspiration of Joseph Chamberlain, was at last mindful of its imperial obligations, at once adopted a forward policy. It was decided to form a body of native troops under British officers, later called the West African Frontier Force. Its organization was entrusted to Colonel Lugard, and it was to be maintained at Government expense. This force was established early in 1898, with headquarters at Jebba, on the Niger, some five hundred miles from the sea, and the training of the two infantry battalions (each 1200 strong) and three batteries of artillery proceeded apace. Its formation served as an earnest of the serious view taken by Great Britain of the disregard of treaty rights by France and gave our rivals food for serious reflection. The outcome was that, during the next few months, the French became less intransigent and an Anglo-French Convention was signed on June 14th, 1898. In the main its terms upheld the British territorial thesis. Borgu was adjudged to this country, though Nikki and its immediate vicinity were incorporated in the French Colony of Dahomey. While the western frontiers were thus settled in our favour, on the north-western boundary concessions were made to our

erstwhile rivals. Instead of Say, which had never been approached by British administrators, the limit of the British sphere on the Niger was henceforward to be a point to the North of Giri, some hundred miles up-stream from Boussa and, in any case, well beyond the sphere of effective Company control. In addition, two enclaves in British territory were leased to the French for purposes of trade, the one at Aremberg on the Middle Niger, and the other at the mouth of the Forcados River, while the two Powers mutually guaranteed to their respective subjects equality of treatment in navigation, tariffs and taxes throughout the Niger countries. This settlement represented what was on the whole a fair compromise between the rival claims of Great Britain and France in West Africa, and a frontier line of nearly a thousand miles was determined on the spot by Captain Moll for France and Colonel Elliott for this country in most friendly fashion and finally approved by the two Powers in 1904. But the difficulties which had preceded the settlement of 1898 had served to emphasize the fact that the effective occupation of territories claimed as falling within the British sphere of influence was a plain national duty. Whether a Chartered Company could carry out so formidable a task was, however, quite a different matter. For the moment, indeed, the territory of Borgu was administered as a military province by the West African Frontier Force, and was thus outside the Company's sphere.

By the end of last century serious doubts had arisen

on all sides as to the advisability of continuing company rule in the Niger territories. A private company, even though chartered and royal, could hardly fail to be at a serious disadvantage in negotiations with foreign Powers, and the territories within the sphere of action—often theoretical rather than actual—of the Niger Company marched with the possessions of France in the North and West, and Germany in the East. Again, the campaign of 1897 had shown the need for official assistance in military matters, and the West African Frontier Force, which had been formed in consequence, was entirely independent of the control of the Company. This anomalous position might well prove a source of difficulty in the future. But not the least amongst the criticisms levelled against the Niger Company was the widespread complaint that, whatever the Charter might lay down, the directors had, in fact, assured for their shareholders a virtual monopoly of trade in the basin of the Lower Niger. An appreciation of this point calls for a brief outline of the commercial policy adopted by the Company during its thirteen years of government.

The Royal Niger Company certainly did all in its power to keep its territories as its own preserve. Its officials were obliged to enter into a bond of £1000 not to disclose to any outside person whatever 'any facts, whether commercial, industrial, scientific or political, in connection with the government or business of the Company or the districts occupied by the Company'. The Niger basin was to remain, so far as possible, a

closed book to the outside world, and difficulties were to be put in the way of any stranger, more particularly if he were a trader or a lawyer, who endeavoured to penetrate behind the veil. A fairly serious attempt was made to break the monopoly by a British group—The African Association—but this was bought out by the Company in 1892. In its dealings with the natives the administration encountered serious difficulties on the middle river, and much gallant fighting was necessary before a semblance of law and order could be established and new trade routes opened up. In the delta country the situation was further complicated by the existence of two jurisdictions—that of the Company and that of the Oil Rivers Protectorate. The native inhabitants of districts like Brass had long engaged in a precarious trade with the villages further up-stream, selling the produce to European traders. Under the new order, traders, native or other, who wished to journey into the territories of the Company were obliged to come to one particular ‘port of entry’ to clear inwards, and to pay heavy licences and duties for this privilege. Although there were preventive stations against smugglers elsewhere, these duties could only be paid at Akassa, which frequently meant a long and wearisome detour for native traders. In this manner it was made extremely difficult for possible competitors of the Company to buy palm oil and kernels within the territories subject to its jurisdiction. The Company in its trading capacity was thus enabled to buy these

products at well below their market value and make a substantial profit, even though its goods were subject to the same export and import duties as any other. The Brass men chafed under these restrictions and went so far as to attack the Company's principal station at Akassa and burn it to the ground early in 1895. That British protected persons under consular jurisdiction should commit acts of violence against a British Chartered Company within its own jurisdiction was a fact that called public attention to the anomalies of our rule in the delta and, although compensation was paid by the Niger Coast Protectorate to the Royal Niger Company, there was no doubt that the grievances of these particular natives were very largely justified in fact.

Many people will agree with Lord Cromer's general principle that 'administration and commercial exploitation should not be entrusted to the same hands'. In the particular case of the Royal Niger Company, administered by men of integrity and vision as it was, one cannot but regret that commercial monopoly should have loomed so large in the general policy of its administration. In its governmental capacity it was excluded from profit-making, but the air of secrecy with which it performed many of its functions could hardly fail to arouse suspicion among contemporaries. In its commercial capacity it was bound to look first and foremost to the interests of its shareholders, and in this, be it added, it achieved a fair, though by no

means unreasonable, measure of success. It did a great work in opening up the country, but chartered company rule, by its very nature, could hardly be more than a transitional form of government. This was clearly recognized by Sir George Goldie in an address to the shareholders in 1896. 'The true work of the Company for the last ten years', he said, 'has been establishing a state of things which will offer sufficient security for the creation of a vast commerce with, and the much-needed communication in, the rich regions of the Central Sudan. When that work is completed the time will have arrived for the absorption of the Company in the Imperial Government, a process which was contemplated when we first applied for the Charter.'

In 1899 'that work' had, perhaps, not as yet been completed, but the indispensable preliminaries had been well performed. The political, even more than the commercial situation, however, called for the assumption by the British Government of its imperial obligations in the territories which were soon to be known as Nigeria. Accordingly negotiations were at last concluded for the revocation of the Charter and the compensation of the Royal Niger Company. Broadly speaking, the Company surrendered all the paraphernalia of government—including its treaties with native chieftains, its lands and mining rights, and its river boats used for purposes of police and administration, retaining only its trading assets and warehouses. In return, it received the sum of £865,000

by way of compensation in cash, together with a claim, for ninety years, to one-half the mining royalties which might accrue in certain specified parts of the northern territories. The administration passed into the hands of the Imperial Government as from January 1st, 1900, and the Niger Company, shorn of all qualifying epithets, relapsed once more into its old rôle of a prosperous trading concern. The best epitaph on its thirteen and a half years of royal and chartered life is to be found in the vast Dependency of Nigeria, which has been so ably constructed upon the foundations it had laid and which, but for the activities of men like Sir George Goldie and Lord Aberdare, would almost certainly have passed into the hands of a foreign Power.

Chapter IX

THE FORMATION OF SOUTHERN NIGERIA

Lagos

BEFORE claims to the lands of the Lower Niger and the Benue Rivers had been fully asserted by Great Britain and recognized by foreign Powers, the foundations of British rule on the coast had already been laid. Our first Colony in this part of West Africa was the island of Lagos and the adjacent coastal strip which, as we have already seen, had been acquired as early as 1861. The 'Settlement of Lagos and its Dependencies', as this territory was called, was at first made a separate Crown Colony, with a Governor of its own. The Parliamentary Committee of 1865, however, advocated a central Government for British West Africa, and, in consequence of its recommendations, the new Colony of Lagos came under the rule of the Governor-in-Chief of the West African Settlements, whose headquarters were at Sierra Leone. With the seat of Government so far away, official encouragement for the young Colony was naturally somewhat circumscribed, but Lagos was fortunate in having, as its Administrator, Captain J. H. Glover, R.N., who had seen service with Dr Baikie on the Niger and had himself travelled in the hinterland. His principal task was to keep the road to Ibadan open to traders.

In this he was much hampered by the rivalries and warrings of the up-country chiefs and, more especially, by the attempts of the Egbas and the Jebus, whose chief centres were at Abeokuta and Jebu Ode respectively, to exercise a trade monopoly or, at least, to levy taxes on the palm oil and kernels which passed through their territories on their way down to Lagos. The inadequacy of the military forces, which consisted of two companies of the West Indian Regiment and a few Hausa levies, combined with the avowed policy of the Home Government to make any interference in tribal conflicts most difficult. The blockade of the important transit centre of Ikorodu by the Abeokutans in 1865, however, compelled the Administrator to take the offensive and the roads remained open for several years as a result. When Glover retired in 1873 much steady progress had been made. The revenue had more than doubled during his eight years of office and had proved sufficient for local expenditure. The West Indian garrison had been withdrawn and its place taken by a small force of Hausas raised locally. Nevertheless, relations with the neighbouring tribes were not as yet on a permanently satisfactory basis, as the closing of the roads in 1872 had shown. Difficulties of this kind naturally affected the export figures, but on the whole the foreign trade of the Colony had expanded considerably.

For the next twenty years relatively little progress was made. It was, in the main, a period of falling

prices and virtual stagnation in British West Africa. In the case of Lagos, further trade development implied the expansion of British influence into the hinterland, and the time for such a forward policy had not yet come. Changes in the government of the Colony did nothing to improve this state of affairs. In 1874 our settlements on the Gold Coast were separated from Sierra Leone and formed into a distinct Colony which, however, included Lagos. It was not, indeed, until 1886, when the 'Scramble for Africa' was at its height, that Lagos was constituted a separate Colony, with a Governor of its own. The revival of interest in the Niger coastlands which this implied was due, in part, at least, to the abortive attempt of Dr Nachtigal to establish a German Protectorate over the Mahin beach, about half-way between the Benin River and Lagos, in 1885. His action was disavowed by his Government and the territory in question was brought under British protection and attached to Lagos. If the British Government had not protested in this matter, a dangerous wedge would have been driven between the Colony of Lagos and the Oil Rivers country, which had long been within the British sphere and was proclaimed a Protectorate in the same year.

In the late 'eighties it was becoming more and more clear that the welter of anarchy in Yorubaland would have to be dealt with once and for all before the future of Lagos could be regarded as assured. Missions were accordingly sent into the interior, but although

all the tribes were on friendly terms with the British, they continued to make war on one another. With the arrival of Sir Gilbert Carter as Governor in 1891, British policy entered upon a new phase. After increasing the number of local troops at his disposal, the Governor attacked the Jebus, who had once again stopped all trade, in violation of their treaty obligations to this country. A garrison was left at Jebu Ode and, in the next year, a treaty was concluded with Abeokuta. Small garrisons were established at Ibadan and elsewhere and Residents were appointed to various centres. By 1895 most of Yorubaland had been brought under British control. Two years later, the Government of the Niger Coast Protectorate extended its direct influence over Benin, and thus safeguarded the Lagos dependencies on their eastern frontier, while the Ilorin campaign of the Royal Niger Company and the activities of the West African Frontier Force in the following year together succeeded in establishing order further North. The conquest of Yorubaland itself had been achieved with a minimum of fighting. The natives settled down gladly under the new regime; slave-raiding ceased as if by magic; and the country entered upon an era of prosperity quite unknown in its earlier history.

With the advent of peace in the hinterland, the creation of improved means of communication became a matter of urgent necessity. A forward policy of railway construction was, of course, impossible if the

Colony were left to its own unaided resources. It was therefore most fortunate for Lagos, as for so many other 'undeveloped estates' of the Empire, that Joseph Chamberlain became Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1895. The passing of the Imperial Colonial Loans Act made it possible for the Colony to borrow money from the Treasury, and railway construction began in 1896. By the spring of 1900 the line was opened for traffic as far as Ibadan and, in the same year, the island of Lagos was connected by bridge with Iddo, the railway terminus, and the mainland.

These changes led to a considerable advance in economic development. The average annual revenue, which in the late 'nineties (£180,000) was six times that of the late 'sixties, increased by one-half in the next six years. Exports during the same period stood at over £1,000,000 a year, or approximately double those of the 'seventies. When Lagos was merged into Southern Nigeria in 1906, its material prosperity was already assured.

The Niger Delta

In the delta country and the coastlands to the East of the Niger the beginnings of British rule came later than in Lagos and its dependencies. It will be remembered that one of the results of the Berlin Conference was the proclamation of a British Protectorate over the coastline between the eastern frontier of Lagos and the Rio del Rey in 1885. Here consular

jurisdiction was set up under the Foreign Office, but very little was done for several years. Apart from occasional assistance from the navy, the Consul was powerless, while years of trading had led to the introduction of a considerable quantity of firearms amongst the native population. Moreover, the Consul had no local revenue to draw upon and his legal authority was considerably circumscribed by the terms of the Order in Council of 1885, which had inaugurated this thoroughly unsatisfactory state of affairs. To add to his difficulties, there was at first no clearly defined line of demarcation between the Protectorate and the sphere of action of the Royal Niger Company. In the Protectorate itself cannibalism was still rife and the general situation most discreditable to the government of a civilized country.

In 1891 the earlier policy of drift came to an end with the appointment of Sir Claude Macdonald as Consul-General and Commissioner for what was then known as the Oil Rivers Protectorate, the very name of which is said to have made a distinguished British statesman feel sick. The frontiers of the Protectorate were defined, the coastline between the Nun and Forcados Rivers being left to the Royal Niger Company, thus separating the western from the eastern sections of the dependency. The organization of a small force of Hausa soldiers was taken in hand by Captain (afterwards Sir Ralph) Moor, and the introduction of import duties on alcohol, tobacco, guns

and a few other articles was effected without opposition. These duties were fairly easy to raise, since they fell on goods which were brought, for the most part by British and German ships, to the few principal ports of the delta country. The pacification of the territory proceeded apace, but some years were to elapse before British rule was extended far inland from the innumerable creeks and lagoons which formed the only network of communications in the Protectorate. The Consul-General was head of the administration and of the judiciary, though almost all cases between natives were dealt with in native Courts. There was a Vice-Consul for each river who was responsible generally for peace and order, and was to endeavour to open up trade routes in his district.

The rivers themselves were easy to patrol and the natives settled down fairly peaceably under their new rulers. The only significant exception was the case of the men of Brass who, as we saw in the previous chapter, suffered considerably from the monopolistic activities of the Royal Niger Company further upstream and took the law into their own hands in 1895, when they raided and burned the Company's trading station at Akassa. In the Benin country, however, the situation was very different. This district was further removed from the waterways, and remained a centre of fetish worship and cannibalistic practices of the most revolting character. The King of Benin had actually signed a treaty with the British as early as 1892, but the old order remained entirely unchanged.

One of his vassals, Nana, a trading-chief and slave-dealer, had collected at Brohemie, his capital, 'the largest store of munitions of war ever possessed by any native chief', and felt himself strong enough to defy the Consul-General. He had seized men from other districts and was actively engaged in maintaining a rule of terror throughout the countryside. Negotiations proved futile, and in 1894 Moor, who was acting as Consul-General, summoned military and naval reinforcements and proceeded to bring Nana to reason. Although Brohemie was built in a mangrove swamp and the only creek was defended by a battery of heavy guns, the strength of its position did not prove a serious obstacle to the British force. Nana himself took refuge in flight and afterwards surrendered at Lagos. The result of this expedition was to extend British influence in the western portion of the Protectorate and to make a conflict with the King of Benin, the last representative of cruel savagery and inhuman misgovernment, inevitable in the near future. In less than three years the clash occurred. Sir Ralph Moor, who had succeeded Sir Claude Macdonald in 1896, was away on leave, and Acting Consul-General Phillips was officiating in his stead. The King of Benin had refused to enter into relations with the British and had made trading impossible. This was a serious challenge to our prestige, and the orgies of slaughter still continued in Benin City. Phillips, however, was most unwilling to have recourse to force, and determined to pay a visit to the King in order to

try first of all to win him over by peaceful persuasion. He started off at the beginning of January, 1897, with a small unarmed escort, sending messengers to Benin to explain the motives and character of his mission. Unfortunately this journey was singularly badly timed, as it coincided with the great native fetish celebrations of the year. The party was attacked in an ambush and nearly all the white men, including Phillips himself, were killed. Two officers alone managed to make their escape, in the face of untold hardships, and informed the authorities of the horrors of this massacre. A naval expedition was at once organized, and in less than a month Benin City was in British hands. The relics of human sacrifice and fetish worship which they discovered amply corroborated the reports that had been received as to the odious character of the savage despotism of the Kings of Benin. In its place British rule brought peace and order to some 3000 square miles of rich tropical territory, and here, as elsewhere, trade and prosperity followed the flag.

The pacification of the Niger Coast Protectorate—as the Oil Rivers Protectorate had been called since 1893—had hardly been completed when a rearrangement of territory became necessary in consequence of the revocation of the Charter of the Royal Niger Company. The existence of two separate jurisdictions in the delta country had constituted a problem of no mean difficulty for our administrators. One anomaly was done away with when the Niger Coast Protectorate was transferred from the Foreign Office to the

Colonial Office in April, 1899. At the end of the same year the southern part of the Royal Niger Company's possessions, as far up-stream as Idah, was joined with it, the combined territory taking the name of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria as from January 1st, 1900.

The problems of government in Southern Nigeria were, in many ways, more difficult than those of the adjoining territory of Lagos. The natives of Yorubaland were on a higher plane of civilization, and the country was capable of a rather more varied agricultural economy. The swamps and marshes of the delta country, on the other hand, offered less variety, and cannibalism provided almost the only alternative to the daily monotony of a fish diet. The babel of tribes and languages was also more pronounced, while Benin City, as we have seen, remained a centre of fetish worship and human sacrifice down to the year 1897. The one surviving centre of lawlessness was the Aro country, between the Niger and the Cross River. In 1901 Moor led an expedition against these people and destroyed their famous fetish. The whole country was now pacified, and the days a slave-raiding were over.

In the early years of the present century the revenue doubled, passing from some £280,000 in 1901 to over £570,000 in 1905, while exports increased during the same period by over fifty per cent. The opening up of the northern territories, to which we shall turn in the next chapter, was in fact the preliminary to an era of still

greater prosperity for Southern Nigeria and Lagos alike. With this new factor there came also new problems of transport development and economic administration. These, no less than questions of finance and defence, obviously called for some method of joint regulation. Lagos, Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria were already treated as common territory for most customs purposes: and, while grandiose schemes of unification have never been so dear to the British as to the French administrative mind, everything seemed to point to the desirability of amalgamating Lagos and Southern Nigeria at the very least. As a tentative beginning, Mr Walter Egerton was appointed High Commissioner of Southern Nigeria and Governor of Lagos in 1904. By an Order in Council of February 16th, 1906, the two territories were united to form the Protectorate,* while the original Colony of Lagos was henceforward called the Colony, of Southern Nigeria.

* The Lagos Protectorate constituted the Western, while the former Protectorate of Southern Nigeria formed the Central and Eastern Provinces of the new Protectorate of Southern Nigeria.

Chapter X

THE MAKING OF NORTHERN NIGERIA

THE opening of the present century ushers in a new period in the history of British rule in West Africa, for, on January 1st, 1900, Sir Frederick Lugard, the first High Commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, formally took over the country from the Royal Niger Company. In point of fact, the Company's jurisdiction had never extended far beyond the Niger and the Benue, the 'Mother of Waters', but treaties with France (1890 and 1898) and Germany (1886 and 1893) had recognized Hausaland and most of Bornu as falling within the British sphere. Although the Company's agents had made treaties with some of the northern Emirates, these had not fully accepted British suzerainty, while with Bornu there was no treaty whatsoever. It thus fell to the lot of the High Commissioner to establish British rule over territories which had been recognized by France and Germany, but not by the natives themselves, as being British. Moreover, the native States to the north of the Niger and the Benue had achieved a measure of political organization which is very rare indeed in African history. Before proceeding to outline the conquest and settlement of Northern Nigeria, it will therefore be well to give a brief sketch of the earlier history of its peoples, bearing in mind the while that these

territories form an integral part of the Western Sudan.

The principal inhabitants of the western portion of the country are the Hausas, a people wholly black, though not negroid, whose language is classed as Hamitic. Their civilization is based in the main on agriculture, which helps to explain their success in preserving their own characteristics in the face of frequent conquests and oppression. The other most important inhabitants of Hausaland are the Fulani. Their origin is obscure, though they seem to have spread throughout the Western Sudan by the end of the sixteenth century. These people were, in the main, pastoralists, and some of their descendants in Nigeria, the so-called 'Cow Fulani', follow the traditional calling and preserve the interesting language of their forefathers down to the present day. But their natural ability had marked them out as teachers, judges and religious leaders—vocations closely allied to one another in the world of Islam—and they were soon to show a natural aptitude for rule. In the Upper Niger country, when the Tuaregs' of the desert overthrew the decadent Government of the Moors at Timbuktu in 1800, their place was soon taken by the more gifted Fulani. Mungo Park describes them as being 'naturally mild and gentle....They evidently consider all the Negro natives as their inferiors; and when talking of different nations, always rank themselves among white peoples...They are Mussulmans, and the authority and laws of the Prophet are every-

where looked upon as sacred and decisive'. It was this devotion to Islam which had first sent Fulani teachers to the Hausa States and to Bornu as early as the thirteenth century. It was a remarkable religious revival which led to their establishing themselves as the natural rulers of Hausaland in the opening years of the nineteenth century. Its leader, Othman dan Fodio, had himself performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and had returned with all the zeal of the reformer. He called upon the local rulers to put down the gross abuses which he saw all around him and, when they refused their co-operation, declared himself a Sheikh and proclaimed a *jihad*, or Holy War, throughout the length and breadth of Hausaland. Othman's own capital was at Sokoto, but he gave flags to his lieutenants, who established themselves in the various Hausa States. From the foundation of his empire dates the spiritual and political ascendancy of Sokoto in Hausaland, and when he died, in 1816, he was able to hand down a great dominion to his gifted son, the famous Sultan Mohammed Bello.

To the east of Hausaland lies Bornu, whose rulers are probably of Berber extraction and, like the Fulani, count themselves among the white or red races of the Sudan, though, to European eyes, they seem to be of darker hue. Centred round Lake Chad, and in constant communication with the Mediterranean, the Bornuese appear to have embraced Islam as early as the end of the eleventh century, and to have formed for themselves a vast empire which was at

the height of its power in the sixteenth century. A period of stagnation followed, and, at the time of Othman dan Fodio, who conquered much of the country in 1808, it appeared as though Bornu also would pass under Fulani rule. The old Bornuese dynasty was, however, reinforced at this juncture by the advent of Mohammed el Kanemi, a foreigner of Moorish extraction, whose piety and blameless life had earned for him the goodwill of all. Denham describes him as 'a most extraordinary instance in the Eastern world of fearless bravery, virtue and simplicity'. He succeeded in driving out the Fulani invaders, but it was no part of his policy to depose the ruling Sultans. He took the title of Shehu (Sheikh) and, as Mayor of the Palace, secured ordered government for a country which, when visited by Denham in 1823, is said to have had 'roads as safe as any, save in happy England itself'. Three years later war broke out between Bello and el Kanemi, but the limit to the expansion of Fulani rule had been reached, and both parties remained supreme in their respective territories. Mohammed el Kanemi died in 1835, and Bello's death followed two years later. Their reigns constitute the great period of native rule in Northern Nigeria, although Fulani supremacy in Hausaland was not accepted without question. Bello himself was an enlightened ruler and a man of letters, but his destruction of the old Hausa chronicles, which apparently did not always correspond with the teachings of Mohammed, has deprived us of what might well have proved

most interesting historical material. His administrative and judicial systems seem to have been virtually those of the Hausas, though with important innovations in the matter of taxation.

With the death of Sultan Bello the 'golden age' of Fulani rule in Hausaland came to an end. His successors at Sokoto proved unworthy of the legacy of empire which he had handed down to them, and the subordinate Emirates became more and more independent of their suzerain. The religious enthusiasm which had inspired the first revolt of Othman dan Fodio gradually subsided. Henceforward virtually no effort was made to spread the teachings of the Prophet amongst the pagan population. The enslaving of the faithful was prohibited by Koranic law and, as the Fulani rulers degenerated into mere slave-raiders, it was convenient to have a reserve of pagans upon which they could draw. Revolts against their rule were crushed ruthlessly; impalements and mutilation became recognized methods of government. Moreover, the progressive weakening of the moral fibre of the ruling classes, which accompanied this process of disintegration, led to a great increase in the influence of favourite slaves at Kano and elsewhere. These native States had become mere petty Oriental despotisms where justice was bought and sold, and where the constant bankruptcy of the local exchequers led, of necessity, to the endless creation of new taxes. The individual Emirs had granted subordinate fiefs to a number of their more important followers, but these

holdings were scattered about the country and the nobles themselves were encouraged to reside at the capital cities, where they were under the observation and control of their rulers. There had thus sprung up a form of agrarian and political organization closely resembling feudalism, but a feudalism of absentee lords and social inefficiency. In point of fact, Fulani rule in most Emirates became confined more and more to the walled towns. As the geographical limits of their power were contracted, the ruling classes, whose principal source of income came from slave-raiding, were forced to prey in ever greater measure upon their own immediate peasantry. With such a state of affairs, organized rule had virtually ceased.

In Bornu, too, a period of decline began soon after the death of the great ruler, Mohammed el Kanemi, in 1835. Omar, his eldest son and successor, was constrained to depose the ruling Sultan, who wished to be more than a puppet, and the Kanemite Shehus of Bornu became the sole rulers of the country. But this dynasty was itself overthrown in 1893 by a military adventurer named Rabeh, who had been one of the ablest lieutenants of Zubeir Pasha, a figure of note in the history of the Egyptian Sudan.* Rabeh fled from the Upper Nile valley and carved out a dominion for himself in Darfur and Wadai, but conflict with the French forced him westwards, until he overthrew the Shehu of Bornu and finally established the centre of his rule in the Lake Chad district. He had a real

* *Vide infra*, chap. XIX, p. 359.

capacity for rule and created a military dictatorship, backed by organized armed forces, in a country where anarchy had long flourished. His capital of Dikwa, in the German sphere, was well fortified and soon became an important trading-centre. But his dreams of a Central African Empire were destined to be short-lived. In 1897 a French mission under Gentil had penetrated from the Congo to Lake Chad, concluding treaties on the way with certain chiefs whom Rabeh regarded as being subject to him. He thereupon attacked one of these unfaithful vassals, and annihilated a small French force under Bretonnet, which had hastened to support its protégé. In April, 1900, however, a large French punitive expedition overtook him; his army was vanquished and he himself was slain. One of his sons, Fadr-el-Allah, endeavoured to reorganize the remnants of his father's forces, and came into conflict with the French in the summer of the following year. He was pursued by Captain Dangeville and finally annihilated at Gujba in Bornu, one hundred and sixty miles within British territory.

The situation on January 1st, 1900, when Sir Frederick Lugard hoisted the British flag at Lokoja, was thus one of considerable difficulty. The Fulani Emirates of Hausaland were in a state of anarchy and disintegration. The shadowy suzerainty of Sokoto still existed as a religious symbol, the Sultan himself remaining, then as now, Sarikin Muslimin, 'Commander of the Faithful'. But slave-raiding had disorganized

the whole political system. In Bornu, the Kanemite dynasty had been overthrown, and first Rabeh and then his son threatened complications with the French. Amongst the pagan tribes of Bauchi and elsewhere the welter of anarchy, if more circumscribed in area, was none the less great on that account. To face all these problems, the solution of most of which could brook no delay, the High Commissioner was extremely short of troops. The South African War made great demands on British financial resources, while the Ashanti campaign was almost immediately to absorb the main energies of the West African Frontier Force. The administrative staff in Northern Nigeria numbered but eighteen Europeans, and the Home Government was most averse to a forward policy. The country was, moreover, but little known, while transport was virtually restricted to the Niger and its tributaries. Lugard was fortunate, however, in his subordinates. Colonel Morland was a very successful military leader, and the services of Sir James Willcocks were to prove invaluable after his return from Ashanti. The little band of pioneer administrators set to work with a will.

The limited nature of the resources at his disposal confirmed the High Commissioner in the policy he had tentatively resolved to adopt towards the territories which might come under his jurisdiction. As Europeans were not available in sufficient numbers—and a territory as large as Northern Nigeria, with a climate which necessitated frequent furloughs, would have

required a legion of officials to bring it under direct British rule—he decided to govern the country through its native rulers, who would, of course, benefit by the advice and assistance of British administrative officers. The development and perfecting of this system of ‘indirect rule’ is, in many ways, the most interesting feature of British Tropical African history. So far as Northern Nigeria was concerned, the foundations were firmly established in the first years of Lugard’s administration. British and native Courts were organized in the relatively small territory which had actually been administered by the Company; while a proclamation made it illegal to enslave any person, abolished the legal status of slavery and declared that all children born after April 1st, 1901, were free.

A problem which also demanded an immediate solution was that of the choice of a capital for the Protectorate. The valleys of the Niger and the Benue were too unhealthy for Europeans. A party was therefore sent to look for a site somewhere near the navigable waters of the Kaduna. This forward movement, however, brought the British into conflict with the Emir of Kontagora, a Mohammedan ruler of a predominantly pagan district. He was an inveterate slave-raider, and, when questioned some years later on the subject, made a somewhat picturesque confession of the faith that was in him: ‘Can you stop a cat from mousing? When I die, I shall be found with a slave in my mouth’. The High Commissioner had previously

tried to enter into negotiations with him, but in vain. With a man of this temperament argument was obviously useless. The return of the troops from Ashanti at last made it possible to send an armed force against him. The Emir fled from Kontagora and the British were then free to deal with the Emir of Nupe, who had ousted the nominee set up by the Royal Niger Company during their campaign of 1897. This ruler insisted on slave-raiding and pillaging, and made the roads unsafe for the caravans coming from the North. The High Commissioner therefore advanced early in 1901 and captured Bida, his capital, reinstating the ousted Emir in his stead. He took advantage of this opportunity to proclaim that the British would respect and maintain Fulani rule, though insisting on certain necessary reforms. By the end of the year our position was ensured throughout the greater part of the southern territories of the Protectorate—in Borgu, Ilorin, Kabba, Kontagora, Nupe, Nassarawa and Muri. In these provinces Residents were appointed to work through the native chiefs and to supervise the administration of justice in the native Courts. Disputes between non-natives, and all questions connected with slave-raiding, terrorism, the import of liquor and the possession of firearms were reserved for special Provincial Courts, to be set up under the direct authority of the Resident. The results of this pacification soon made themselves felt. With the suppression of pagan brigandage and Moslem slaving, trade routes took the place of the slave routes

and the Niger Company was able to open up several new stations.

In these first two years of British rule much had certainly been done to establish ordered government in the South, but the power of the Fulani Emirs of Sokoto and Kano remained unchallenged, while the French expedition against Fadr-el-Allah made a settlement with Bornu a matter of extreme urgency. Early in 1902 the Emir of Zaria appealed to the High Commissioner for protection against the raids which the late Emir of Kontagora was making into his territories. This was answered by an expedition which succeeded in capturing the miscreant. A further consequence of this miniature campaign was the establishment of a garrison in Zaria itself, since the Emir, by his appeal, had virtually accepted British protection. While British outposts were thus being pushed further northwards, a successful campaign under Colonel Morland had extended our authority to the eastern frontiers of the Protectorate. A beginning had, in fact, already been made in the autumn of the previous year. The Emir of Yola, who was a fanatic Fulani, had ordered the Niger Company to close their depot in his territory, and this in face of the trading rights which had been duly granted in treaty form. Such a challenge could not be allowed to pass unnoticed, and, in September, 1901, Yola was brought under British control. The need for action in Bornu was made abundantly clear in the same year by the activities of the French. Accordingly, an expedition

was sent eastwards in February, 1902. After deposing the Emir of Bauchi and appointing as his successor the nominee of the local notables, Colonel Morland overcame the opposition of an aged fanatic of striking personality named Jibrella, who had proclaimed himself as the Mahdi. He then advanced through Gujba to the neighbourhood of Lake Chad, entering into communication with the rightful Kanemite Shehu of Bornu, who was being held in captivity by the French, and offering to reinstate him, provided he returned to the country and recognized British suzerainty. The Shehu, for his part, accepted this proposal, and the British at once stopped the collection of a ransom which the French had demanded for his release. To overcome the difficulties which might arise in this troubled area from the presence of British and French armed forces, together with Germans who had come up from the South, the interested Powers agreed to the setting up of a Joint Commission to delimit their respective frontiers. As a result of these events, British authority was extended throughout the eastern portions of the Protectorate by the summer of 1902.

There remained the problem of the northern Emirates. So long as Sokoto and Kano were independent and hostile there could be no permanent peace in Northern Nigeria. This was well brought out by a most regrettable incident which took place in Nassarawa during the summer of 1902. A portion of this mainly pagan province owed a vague allegiance

to the Emir of Zaria, who was represented at Keffi by his lieutenant, or Magaji, one Dan Tanmusa, a fanatical Mohammedan. Captain Maloney, the British Resident, had encountered considerable opposition from the Magaji in all his efforts at suppressing the Slave Trade and pacifying the country. In a palaver at which both Maloney and Dan Tanmusa were present, the native interpreter appears to have deliberately mistranslated certain remarks, and the Resident felt justified in summoning a detachment of troops. On hearing this, the Magaji shot him down in cold blood and fled to Kano, where he was received with every mark of honour by the Emir. Meanwhile, the relations between the High Commissioner and the Sultan of Sokoto had also become very strained. After the overthrow of the Emir of Kontagora in the spring of 1901, Lugard had written to the Sultan, as overlord of Kontagora, to request him to appoint a successor who would rule justly, promising, if he did so, to install his nominee and to support him and uphold his power. To this overture no answer was vouchsafed. A year later the High Commissioner wrote again and received a reply which was tantamount to a declaration of war. 'I will never agree with you', wrote the Sarikin Muslimin, 'I will have nothing ever to do with you. Between us and you there are no dealings except as between Mussulmans and Unbelievers—War, as God Almighty has enjoined on us.'

The basis of British rule in the south and east of

the Protectorate was the general belief, amongst the native population, in the power of the white man. Although they had great natural aptitude for government—as the recent history of Nigeria testifies—the Fulani represented an alien class, and their whole political system was in process of disintegration. The truculence of Sokoto and the open hostility of Kano, as shown in his reception of the Magaji, the callous murderer of a British Resident, could not be allowed to pass unheeded. ‘If the little town of Keffi could do so much, what could Kano do?’ By the end of 1902, the High Commissioner saw clearly that it was impossible to stand still; he could but choose between an advance to Kano and Sokoto, or else the withdrawal of British rule from the Protectorate. The real test case had come at last. Accordingly, he concentrated all his available troops at Zaria. The Home Government declined to sanction the project and afterwards reprimanded the High Commissioner for not keeping it fully informed and for presenting it with a *fait accompli*. At the end of January, 1903, the little expedition of 732 natives and 36 British officers and N.C.O.’s set out for Kano. The first walled town they reached put up some show of resistance, but this was speedily overcome. The other towns on their line of march opened their gates to the British, and Kano itself was occupied on February 3rd, without any serious opposition being encountered. The Emir had left for Sokoto a month earlier, and one of his brothers, the Wombai,

who had disapproved of his policy, at once came to terms with the High Commissioner. At this juncture yet another conciliatory letter was sent to the Sultan of Sokoto. 'We have prepared for war', it ran, 'because Abdu Sarikin Muslimin said there was nothing between us but war. But we do not want war unless you yourself seek war. If you receive us in peace, we will not enter your house, we will not harm you or any of your people....If you are loyal to us, you will remain in your position as Sarikin Muslimin, fear not.' This fresh overture, however, met with the same fate as its predecessors. The little British force therefore advanced in the face of the Harmatan, the sand-bearing wind from the desert, and won a decisive victory over the Emir of Kano. The Lokoto forces also put up a spirited resistance, but they were likewise signally defeated, the Sultan himself seeking safety in flight. Thus collapsed the great military and political system which Othman dan Fodio had founded a century earlier.

The victory had been achieved more easily than might have been anticipated. It remained to establish British rule on a firm basis, and it was in doing this that the High Commissioner laid down, once and for all, the principles that have governed the relations between Great Britain and the northern Emirates. He summoned a Council of Notables at Sokoto and left to them the choice as to whether the former Sultan should be reinstated or a new one chosen in his place. He first assured them, however, that the

changes on which he would insist were in no way directed against Islam.

There will be no interference with your religion nor with the position of the Sarikin Muslimin as head of your religion. The English Government never interferes with religion; taxes, law and order, punishment of crime, these are matters for the Government, but not religion.

This clear-cut and statesmanlike pronouncement was in large measure responsible for the ease with which British rule was established. Its full import has not always been appreciated by later critics of our policy in Nigeria whose zeal has, perhaps, outrun their discretion, and who seem sometimes to have forgotten that the British Empire contains more Mohammedan citizens than any other empire in the world. The notables of Sokoto were, in any case, deeply moved by this solemn pledge, and proceeded to choose another descendant of Othman dan Fodio to rule in place of the former Sultan. On the following day (March 21st, 1903) Sir Frederick Lugard made a further statement to the notables, in the presence of the new Sultan. After outlining the causes of the war, the High Commissioner showed that those things which the Fulani by conquest took the right to do had now, by the same title, been transferred to the British. In particular, all claims to land and taxation passed to the new Government, which would state what portion of the revenue might be kept by the Emirs and Chiefs. Above all, the Slave Trade would henceforward be forbidden, as also the importation of firearms. He

concluded by assuring his hearers that co-operation between all classes of the population and the new rulers could not but conduce to the prosperity and well-being of the native States themselves.

In less than two and a half years British authority had thus been established throughout the Protectorate, and a system of government evolved which was destined to stand the test of time. In this manner Sokoto, the religious capital of the Fulani; Kano, the great walled city and veritable emporium of commerce; Katsena, the centre of learning and military power; Zaria, once the dominant State of Hausaland; Bornu, the one great kingdom which had never come under Fulani rule—these, and many a lesser Emirate besides, were all incorporated in the British Empire. Peace, once established, has never been seriously threatened from that day to this, and the chaos that was Northern Nigeria has become one of the most prosperous of all our tropical dependencies. This achievement alone would entitle (Lord) Lugard and his devoted little band of soldiers and administrators to the lasting gratitude of their race.

While these campaigns were in full swing the organization of a central administration for the Protectorate had been proceeding apace. In the autumn of 1902 headquarters were moved from Jebba to Zungeru and a light railway constructed to connect the new capital with the navigable waters of the Kaduna. The site was sufficiently central from the political and administrative point of view, but the

climatic conditions of the neighbourhood were later to militate against its retention as the permanent capital. The administrative staff, however, set to work with a will. The whole territory was divided up into fourteen provinces by the summer of 1903, though the vast area of the country naturally made it difficult for the provincial Residents to keep in proper touch with the High Commissioner. To meet this problem, telegraph lines were constructed as rapidly as funds would allow, and these were supplemented by the organization of a fortnightly service of despatch-runners. At the end of each month a detailed report was forwarded to headquarters from every province, and in this manner a wealth of information as to the situation and development of the Protectorate was gradually accumulated. A great measure of responsibility, however, necessarily devolved upon the individual Residents, and these early pioneers of government performed their tasks in admirable fashion. Indeed, Northern Nigeria has proved a veritable school for colonial officials of the front rank, several of whom have since occupied high positions in other tropical Dependencies of the Crown.

The expansion of the administrative machine implied a great increase in expenditure at a time when the local revenue was still very small. To begin with, the proceeds of the direct taxes, which fell for the most part on agriculture, were shared with the native rulers, for whom the abolition of slave-raiding meant, at first, a serious diminution in revenue. In most primitive

countries, duties on imports and exports are the easiest of all forms of taxation to collect, but Northern Nigeria has no seaboard and the volume of trade over the land frontier from the French colonies was relatively insignificant. The customs duties on imports into the northern territories were actually collected in Southern Nigeria, and it was therefore only right that the sister Protectorate should make some contribution in return. At first this was fixed at the paltry sum of £34,000 annually, which was totally inadequate to the needs of Northern Nigeria. The balance was met by the Imperial Exchequer in the form of grants-in-aid which, including the cost of the West African Frontier Force—although this was of more than local importance, as the Ashanti War had shown—amounted to nearly five million sterling in the period 1899 to 1913. These were, of course, free grants and not loans. The home country thus took over a burden which should have fallen in much greater measure on the southern territories, whose finances had benefited so enormously by the pacification of the North.

In the early days of his rule, when imperial grants-in-aid were at their maximum, it was essential for the High Commissioner to devise means of raising a revenue locally. The first method adopted, which nothing but the extreme urgency of the problem could justify, was the imposition of a licence fee on canoes and the maintenance of a toll on caravans, up to a maximum of fifteen per cent. *ad valorem* on the goods carried. This latter tax proved very remunerative and,

as its yield increased steadily, it could not have been a very serious burden on trade. Its imposition resulted in the collection of valuable trade statistics and greatly assisted the introduction of currency throughout the Protectorate. But even so, it could only be regarded as a temporary expedient, and was actually abolished in 1907, when the whole system of native taxation had been reformed. By that time the various petty dues levied hitherto had been amalgamated into one general tax, payable by each community on the produce of the land it held. This, of course, involved the 'truly colossal task' of assessing each town and village in the country. In many of the pagan districts, however, the standard of civilization was too low, and the authority of the British not sufficiently firmly established to enable this to be done. Here a poll-tax, often but trifling in amount, was levied in place of the general tax. Everywhere, however, the existing machinery for the collection of taxes was overhauled, and extortion and abuses by subordinates gradually eliminated. These reforms were incorporated in the 'Native Revenue Proclamation' of 1906. Under the new regime, the growth of prosperity and the fact that taxes collected are actually paid in to the Exchequer, have combined to increase the effective yield of taxation almost beyond recognition. From this the Emirs themselves have constantly benefited, in spite of the fact that the share of the central Government increased from £8400 in the financial year 1903-4 to £274,000 in the

financial year 1913. In addition, a large number of native office holders, who are almost all recruited from the former ruling class, have received regular salaries and have thus acquired an interest in the maintenance of our rule. The restoration of order and the institution of British supervision and advice have, between them, enabled the Fulani aristocracy to prove once again their aptitude for government. Their prosperity, however, has not been achieved at the expense of the former subject population. The expansion in revenue has, indeed, been accompanied by a fall in the real burden of taxation on the country as a whole.

The only serious challenge to the new order came in February, 1906. A quarrel between Hausa traders and local natives at a trading-centre on the Benue had necessitated the despatch of most of the available troops to the south of the Protectorate in the previous month. Meanwhile, an outlaw from French territory proclaimed a Holy War at Satiru, in the neighbourhood of Sokoto. This fact was at once reported by the Sultan to the Acting-Resident, who determined to negotiate with the natives and arrest the ringleaders. Riding on in advance of his small detachment of mounted infantry, this officer was charged by a large body of insurgents and killed, in company with another civilian and the lieutenant in charge of the troops. Hopelessly outnumbered and completely demoralized by the death of their officer, the native soldiers broke and fled in disorder to Sokoto. The Sultan, without showing the slightest hesitation, at once ordered his

native horsemen to perform whatever duties the white man might require. The sons of the local chiefs rallied round the fort and the Emirs vied with one other in practical expressions of loyalty. Thanks to their attitude, the rising was localized and time was given for reinforcements to be brought up. Within a month order had been completely re-established. The whole episode brought out, in most remarkable fashion, the wisdom of entrusting the government of the country to its natural leaders. When Sir Frederick Lugard left the Protectorate in May, 1906, he could feel that the foundations of future prosperity and well-being had been well and truly laid. He perhaps did not realize at the time how soon the experiment which he had initiated was to make of Nigeria the classic example of the success of 'indirect rule' as a method of government in the Tropics.

Chapter XI

THE UNION OF NIGERIA

BEFORE retiring from his position as High Commissioner of the Northern Protectorate, Sir Frederick Lugard had advocated the union of all our Nigerian Dependencies. The then Secretary of State, however, decided otherwise, and when Lagos became part of Southern Nigeria in 1906, Northern Nigeria remained a distinct Government. This half-hearted solution led to the curious anomaly 'of a country with an aggregate revenue practically equal to its needs, but divided into two by an arbitrary line of latitude'. The financial position of Northern Nigeria was to remain dependent upon an annual grant provided out of the pockets of the British taxpayer. Of course the Government of Southern Nigeria profited by the opening-up of the North, and the increase from £34,000 to £75,000 in its annual contribution to the sister Protectorate was far outweighed by the advance in customs receipts. The resultant financial prosperity, however, did not encourage economy in the administration and considerable waste occurred, more particularly in railway matters. The development of Northern Nigeria, meanwhile, was seriously handicapped by a shortage of funds. From the financial point of view the amalgamation of the two Protectorates was soon seen to be the only possible solution.

An efficient expansion of transport facilities also called for the co-ordination of schemes of development, and here again the 'arbitrary line of latitude' was to prove a limiting factor. The railway line from Iddo had reached Ibadan in 1901, but for some years it was not extended further inland. By the spring of 1907, however, Oshogbo was reached and a few months previously the continuation of the line as far as Ilorin had been sanctioned and was proceeded with straightway. This brought the railway into Northern Nigeria, a land which was not yet able to finance a construction scheme of its own. At the same time railways were absolutely essential to the North for administrative efficiency no less than for the economic development of the country. The Secretary of State realized this fact, but was of the opinion that 'railway construction should be undertaken in Northern Nigeria independently of the extension from the South'. The preliminary arrangements had already been made for the construction of a line from Baro on the Niger to Kano, and work was now taken in hand without further delay. Anxious not to have the northern traffic diverted from the port of Lagos, the southern Protectorate raised a loan for the extension of the line from Ilorin to meet the new railway at Minna. Two railways were thus constructed, the one to Baro depending on river transport and actually being in direct competition with the other, the extension to Lagos. The scheme was completed in 1912, when Kano was reached from Baro, while the extension from the South

met the northern trunk line at Minna. The choice of a port on the Upper Niger, however, implied a belief in the navigability of the river which was not justified by later experience in dredging. The building of a line crossing the Niger as far to the East as Jebba was also to have expensive consequences, since it necessitated the construction of a very costly bridge at that point. These unfortunate results might well have been in large measure avoided had there been any real co-ordination in the construction policy of the two Protectorates. In this, then, as in financial matters, unification of control was very obviously needed to check extravagance.

But there was yet another sphere of government action, and one of paramount importance, in which some form of co-ordination was also becoming most urgent. Southern Nigeria had been longer under British rule, and its wealth of palm products had attracted European traders in considerable numbers. Here, in fact, the trader and the missionary had been the pioneers of British rule; the flag had followed trade, and there had been no clear conception of the policy to be adopted towards the native population. In the northern Protectorate, on the other hand, the Government was itself the pioneer, and the necessities of the original pacification of the country called for a clearly defined native policy. In other words, the South, being more under European influences, had progressed further in almost everything connected with the development of its material resources, while the North had evolved a system of native administra-

tion, political and judicial, which was infinitely in advance of anything which the sister Protectorate had to show. In Yorubaland, indeed, the situation had become very unsettled. The advance into the hinterland of Lagos in the 'nineties was, of course, accompanied by the signing of treaties with the native chiefs. These agreements, however, were not always the same in form, though they left native society practically to its own devices, and this in a territory soon to be traversed by a railway and thus thrown open to the influence of Europeans and Europeanized natives. The treaty of 1893 with the Egbas of Abeokuta, for example, had guaranteed the independence of this people within its own borders, subject only to their welcoming traders and Christian missionaries. They were even empowered to erect a customs frontier round their dominions, and all the tribes remained subject to their own traditional ruler, the Alaki. To outward appearance this native State was run on European lines, with a secretariat and all the machinery of civilized government. In reality, corruption and abuses of every kind were rife, and the Alaki had, on several occasions, to call in British troops to assist him in maintaining his authority. The Yorubas of Ibadan for their part still owed allegiance to the Alafin of Oyo, but the treaty precluded them from maintaining any armed forces. Under these conditions their confederation fast broke up into its component parts, while the British Resident stood by, powerless to arrest the wholesale process of disintegration. The absence of

any legal definition of the powers of the Crown under these treaties made British suzerainty a mockery. Our influence was very shadowy: it was not 'rule' in any sense of the term. In the coastal lands to the east of Lagos, where tribal organization was still more primitive, if not, indeed, non-existent, the Government had recognized and legalized the system of 'house rule'. The members of the 'houses' were under the authority of the 'head of the house', and the Protectorate Government inflicted fines and imprisonment on any member who refused to submit to his jurisdiction. In reality, however, these 'houses' were usually mere trading concerns and their members were many of them slaves. Here, then, as in Yorubaland, the Government had succeeded in suppressing certain abuses, but its policy really amounted to leaving the natives entirely to themselves. Progress along these lines was, of course, unthinkable. In the West, Lagos traders were acquiring land from the local rulers and the very basis of African life was thus being placed in serious jeopardy.

The 'Divisional System', which was in large measure the outcome of earlier developments, merely added to the difficulties of the administration. The Protectorate of Southern Nigeria had been divided, since 1906, into three 'Divisions', the Western, Central and Eastern, each under a Provincial Commissioner who was a Lieutenant-Governor in all but name. His office had developed into a small secretariat, while his onerous administrative and departmental duties made

it virtually impossible for him to keep in touch with his district staff. In a word, the 'Division' was at once too large to be a 'Province' and too small to be a 'Government': while the general efficiency of the administration was greatly diminished in consequence.

The cumulative effect of these problems of finance, transport and administration had become apparent by the end of 1911, when Mr Harcourt, the Secretary of State, finally decided upon amalgamation. In the following year Sir Frederick Lugard, who had meanwhile been Governor of Hong Kong, was appointed Governor of both Northern and Southern Nigeria, with a view to effecting the union of the two Protectorates at the earliest possible moment. To him amalgamation, as he has said, was 'not a mere political, geographical, or, more especially, a financial expression', but rather 'a means whereby each part of Nigeria should be raised to the level of the highest plane attained by any particular part'. His wide experience of African conditions was to stand him in good stead in the performance of this ambitious task. Preliminary investigations naturally occupied most of his attention during his first year of office, but the anomaly of legalized slavery in the form of 'house rule', to which we have already referred, called for immediate action. In 1912 the Governor had to content himself with introducing the principle of self-ransom amongst these coastal natives, and it was not until three years later that he was able to repeal the old Ordinance, which gave Government assistance in the enforcement of the

authority of the head of the 'house' over its members. This brought conditions in the former Central and Eastern Divisions into line with the generally accepted principle of the abolition of the legal status of slavery which had been introduced into Northern Nigeria in 1901.

The chaotic position at Abeokuta also called for immediate action. In 1913 the Alaki made one of his oft-repeated appeals for British armed assistance in the suppression of a rising in his dominions. Realizing that the whole system of native rule was itself very largely to blame, the Governor declined to accede to this request and, instead, invited the Alaki to conclude a new treaty which would guarantee him a status equivalent to that of one of the northern Emirs. In September, 1914, this proposal was accepted, and Egbaland was thereby assimilated to the rest of the Dependency.

Meanwhile, however, much of the preliminary work essential to amalgamation had been completed. In particular, the two railway systems of Northern and Southern Nigeria were brought under unified control, with a joint Director of Railways and Works, in 1913. The time had now come for the proclamation of the Government of United Nigeria, which was made on January 1st, 1914, Sir Frederick Lugard receiving the personal title of Governor-General.

The nature and scope of the administrative re-organization which amalgamation entailed have been admirably described by the Governor-General him-

self.* For our present purpose it will suffice to say that larger questions of policy were left to the Governor-General, who was also responsible for legislation. The former Protectorates were henceforward known as the Northern and Southern Provinces of Nigeria, each under a Lieutenant-Governor. This office was to be 'one of recognized executive responsibility, to which should be delegated many of the statutory and executive functions of the Governor-General by a process of decentralization'. The importance of the Lieutenant-Governor was further emphasized by the fact that he was not superseded by the presence of the Governor-General in his area of jurisdiction. A number of central departments were set up, like those for railways, defence, audit, posts and telegraphs, justice and survey, which functioned for the country as a whole, and their number has since been added to. The co-ordination of the technical services led to a great increase in efficiency, while the position of the Governor-General ensured a greater continuity in administrative policy. The unification of the laws, for example, was proceeded with and actually completed within three years.

In this manner the Lieutenant-Governor was relieved of many extraneous duties and enabled to devote himself more fully to the performance of his executive functions. In Northern Nigeria a slight

* Report by Sir F. D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration, 1912-1919. Cmd. 468, 1919.

readjustment was made in the administrative areas, the number of provinces being reduced from fourteen to twelve. Of infinitely greater importance, however, was the introduction of this same provincial system into Southern Nigeria. In place of the three 'Divisions' which had proved so prejudicial to efficiency, the Protectorate was now divided into nine 'Provinces', with an average population roughly equal to those in the North, though of rather less than half the area. This rearrangement made it possible for the Lieutenant-Governor to establish contact with his district staff and prepared the way for the introduction of 'indirect rule'. For this to be attempted with success, it was essential first of all to establish native treasuries* and provide revenue for them, and this, in turn, could only be accomplished by the introduction of direct taxation. The inhabitants of the provinces of Oyo (Yorubas), Abeokuta (Egbas) and Benin had achieved a greater measure of tribal organization than any of the other southern peoples, and it was accordingly resolved, towards the end of 1916, that a beginning should be made with them. The taxation policy of the Government, however, was at once grossly misrepresented by the host of parasites who had flourished under the old regime, and their activity, combined with the strain on the administration and the country as a whole which was an inevitable consequence of the

* These had been set up in Northern Nigeria in 1907. For 'indirect rule' to become a reality, it was clearly essential that the 'dependent States' should be financially responsible and associated with the general administration of internal taxation.

War, led to a considerable amount of unrest amongst the people. By 1918 this had been largely overcome, and the establishment of a single tax in place of the multitude of dues that had existed hitherto soon came to be welcomed by the natives. An important step was thus taken towards the solution of a difficult problem. Measures have since been adopted for the extension of this system to the other southern provinces, though the introduction of 'indirect rule' naturally becomes much harder as the standard of native tribal civilization falls. Its success in the northern Emirates, however, was clearly seen during the war years in the loyal attitude of the rulers, more particularly when British help was given to our French Allies when faced with a revolt of the Tuaregs in 1916, and in the generous contributions made by them towards the cost of the War and the work of the Red Cross. Daily prayers were offered in all the mosques for the success of our arms, and Turkish propaganda for Moslem solidarity against the Infidel fell on deaf ears. Yet, even in the North, the withdrawal of a large number of British officers, whose services were urgently required elsewhere, led to a weakening of the machinery of native government, and corruption began to raise its ugly head once more. The fact is, of course, that 'indirect rule', even where it is most successful, depends in no small measure on the sympathetic supervision of the district officers; the habits of centuries cannot be uprooted in a single generation.

These changes in administrative policy called for a parallel reorganization of the judicial system, and this was accomplished in 1914. The jurisdiction of the old Supreme Court at Lagos was henceforward limited to the actual Colony and a number of important commercial centres in the South, where Europeans and natives had long lived side by side. In the new 'Provinces' provincial Courts were set up on lines similar to those of Northern Nigeria, with the result that summary justice could now be obtained. Judicial work came within the scope of the Executive, and district officers, whose knowledge of local conditions might be expected to make up for their lack of legal training, were required to pass an examination in law. An important feature of the system was that the right to be represented by counsel was denied in the provincial Courts. In this manner the incentive to foment litigation, which had proved only too great a temptation to many Europeanized native barristers, was very largely removed. The recasting of the European judicial administration was accompanied by the creation of new native Courts, also conceived in the same spirit as those which had already shown their worth in the North. Here, however, several important modifications were necessary to suit varying local conditions. Amongst the more advanced communities of the West real judicial Courts were established; elsewhere a single native judge dispensed justice; while, in the backward pagan areas of the East, petty chieftains were given limited

judicial functions. These innovations have been found, on the whole, to work well. Progress in some areas will necessarily be slow, but European guidance will tend to diminish the number and importance of any miscarriages of justice that may occur, and these will be more than compensated for by the experience which this system affords to the native rulers of this and future generations.

Prior to amalgamation the Legislative Council of the Colony of Lagos passed laws affecting the whole Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. This state of things could not be tolerated by Sir Frederick Lugard. The Council was composed of official and unofficial members whose experience of the problems of the Protectorate was either very limited or non-existent. This fact alone made the Council ineffective, even if it did not cause actual injustice to the masses of the people. Moreover, as the Governor-General himself wrote, 'it is a cardinal principle of British Colonial policy that the interests of a large native population shall not be subject to the will either of a small European class or of a small minority of educated and Europeanized natives who have nothing in common with them, and whose interests are often opposed to theirs'. After 1914 the powers of the Council were restricted to the actual territory of the Colony, and its unofficial members were usually identical with the members of the Town Council. An Executive Council was meanwhile set up for the whole of Nigeria. In the Northern Protectorate no Legislative Council had ever been instituted and the

sole right of legislation has remained in the hands of the Governor alone down to the present day. The political structure of the northern Emirates is, of course, sufficient explanation of this apparent anomaly and also helps to account for the apparent unimportance of the Nigerian Council, which was established in 1914 to represent the whole country and to hold a short session once a year.* Nigeria as a country is a British political and administrative concept which should not be allowed to conceal from view the wide divergence in the peoples and civilizations which it comprises within its frontiers. Amalgamation was essential to technical efficiency and to the establishment of unity in administrative policy; it in no sense implied uniformity in political structure.

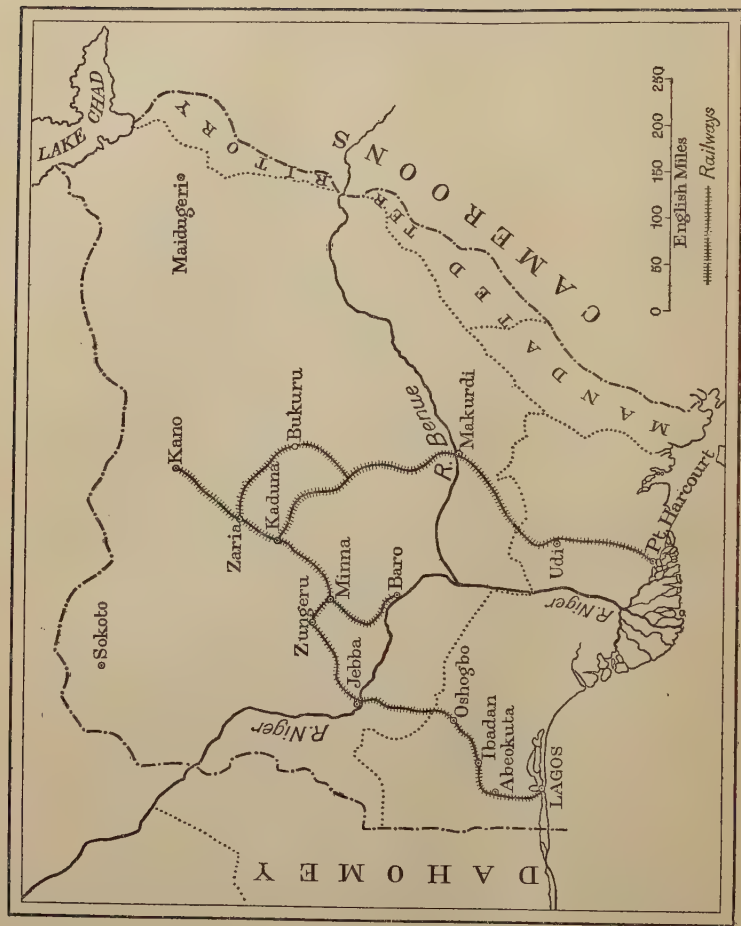
Soon after Sir Hugh Clifford became Governor in 1919, a change in the nature and functions of the Legislative Council was decided upon. This was actually effected in November, 1922, when its composition was fixed at twenty-seven official and eighteen non-official members. These latter include elected representatives of the inhabitants of Lagos and Calabar and of the Chambers of Commerce of Lagos, Port Harcourt and Kano; together with members chosen by the banking and shipping interests, and eight others whose duty it is to represent African interests in those parts of the Colony and the Southern Provinces

* The Council has since been abolished, in consequence, it would seem, of a misunderstanding as to its real purpose. This, though limited, might well have become of increasing importance in course of time.

of the Protectorate which do not return elected representatives. At the same time the competence of the Council in legislative matters was again extended to cover the Southern Provinces as well as the Colony proper.

The war years were naturally a period of difficulty for the new Government. The Nigerian battalions of the West African Frontier Force did good work in the military operations in the Cameroons, and later saw service in East Africa. One result of their activities was the extension of the eastern frontier of Nigeria into former German territory. Captured in February, 1916, by an Anglo-French force, the Cameroons were finally divided between the two Allies in 1919, the French receiving the lion's share. These territories are held under Mandate from the League of Nations, the British portion comprising some thirty thousand square miles of territory in a strip running along the Nigerian frontier from a point near the port of Victoria to the southern end of Lake Chad. The northern and narrower portion of this British zone was incorporated into the two Northern Provinces of Bornu and Yola, while the southern and larger portion was constituted a separate province of Southern Nigeria.

Another, and less satisfactory, result of the War was the postponement of an ambitious programme of transport development. Through railway communication had been established between Lagos and Kano by 1912. This necessitated the development of the port of Lagos, where harbour works of considerable magni-



Sketch Map of the Nigerian Railway System.

tude, including the construction of a mole on either side of the entrance, and dredging work on the bar, had been inaugurated in 1908. Six years later the first ocean-going mail steamer was able to cross the bar and, in spite of a temporary set-back, it has always been possible for vessels with a draught not exceeding nineteen feet to enter the port since 1916, the year, incidentally, in which the Niger was bridged at Jebba. Further advance in dredging, and more particularly in deepening the channels in the harbour itself, was, however, postponed until after the War. The provision of a trunk railway and port facilities naturally gave an enormous stimulus to the trade of the western parts of the Dependency. Moreover, the narrow-gauge railway from Zaria to Bukuru, completed in 1914, led to a great increase in the output of the tinfields of the Bauchi plateau, an important industry which had first begun operations a few years previously. For the main outline of the railway system of the country to be completed, however, a trunk line through the eastern territories was essential, and this necessitated, in the first place, the choice of a suitable port. The problem appeared all the more urgent since coal was discovered in considerable quantities in the Udi district in 1912, though its distance from the Niger made transport costs almost prohibitive. The obvious outlet for a railway was the Bonny estuary, which had the best bar, with over twenty feet of water at high tide, but the existence of extensive mangrove swamps near the river made its utilization as a

centre for inland transport appear very problematic. Fortunately, a careful investigation carried out by the Governor and his Director of Marine towards the end of 1912 led to the discovery of an excellent site where a bluff of red cliffs broke the monotony of the swamps and provided an abundance of construction material as well as direct access to the mainland. This point was chosen as the port and railway terminus and named Port Harcourt, after the then Secretary of State for the Colonies. Work was started without delay and the admirable harbour was opened in 1914. Two years later it was connected by railway with Enugu, some hundred and fifty miles inland, in the heart of the coalfields. This line has the additional advantage of traversing a thickly populated district which is very rich in oil palms. It had always been intended to continue it to Kaduna on the Lagos-Kano railway, a town which had taken the place of Zungeru as capital of the Northern Provinces in 1916. Unfortunately the War postponed the realization of this project for many years. It was not, indeed, until 1924 that the Eastern Railway reached Makurdi, on the Benue River, though only three more years were to elapse before the junction with the Western line was duly effected. These two great trunk lines, with the branches already in existence, have a total length of some sixteen hundred miles. They will remain as a testimony to Government enterprise and to the statesmanlike initiative of what we might perhaps call the first generation of British rulers in our Nigerian

Empire. Technical difficulties of construction have been overcome and the recruiting of the necessary labour—a problem no less serious—successfully accomplished. They have been the great instrument of ‘continental inland penetration’. But this is no longer exclusively a railway age. Roads have sprung up on all sides. In Nigeria there are already some three thousand miles of motor roads, bridged and graded, and the Public Works Department is planning many more. Railways, however, seem destined to remain the principal artery of long-distance communication for many years to come. They have already supplanted that river transport which first lured British pioneers into this part of the African hinterland, while the main function of the new motor highways is to serve as feeders to their immediate predecessors in the ever-changing story of economic progress.

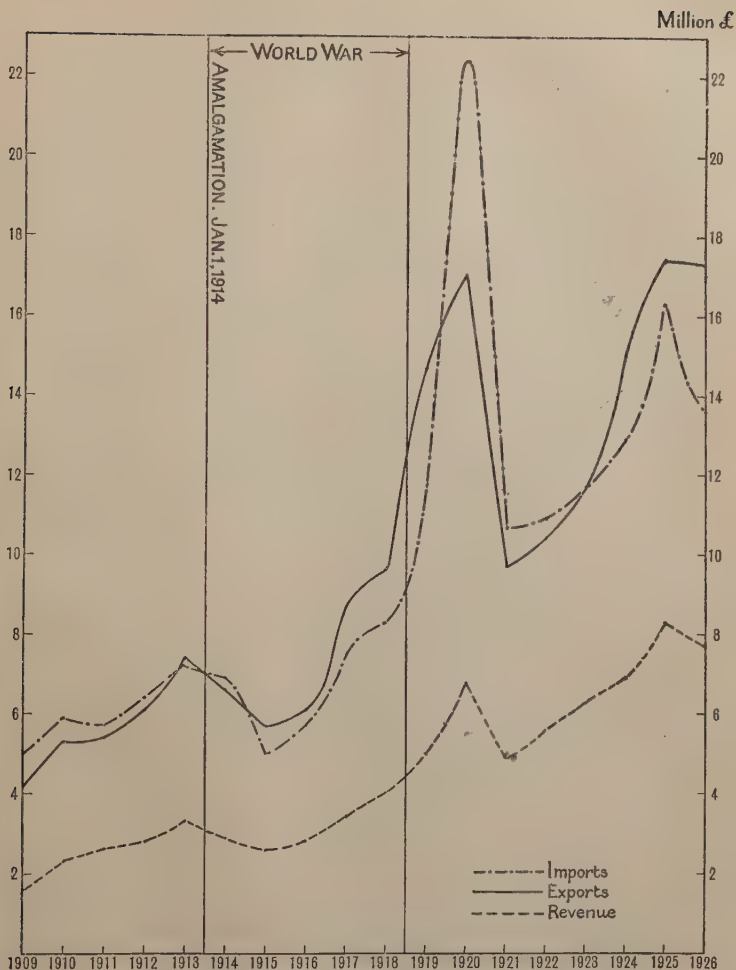
Years must elapse before it will be possible to estimate the results of this veritable revolution in transport upon native African life, its health and well-being, its social and political evolution. The first consequences in the sphere of trade and economic organization are, however, more easily analysed. The table overleaf gives the quantities of three important products exported in certain years which are not without significance in the railway history of the country.

The expansion in the export figures with each successive wave of railway construction stands out clearly from these statistics. It is equally instructive

to note that, between 1912, when the railway first reached Kano, and 1925, the typical export products of the North also advanced in almost startling fashion: groundnuts from under 3000 to over 127,000 tons, and tin concentrates from 2800 to 9300 tons.

Year	Thousand tons		
	Palm kernels	Palm oil	Cocoa
1900	85·6	45·5	0·2
1902	132·6	52·1	0·3
1905	136·6	54·9	1·4
1909	158·8	67·9	2·2
1917	186·0	67·5	15·4
1925	272·9	70·0	49·7

This outline of the increase in the quantities of the principal commodities exported will serve as an introduction to the remarkable advance in the value figures of imports and exports and in the revenue of the country which is apparent in the adjoining diagram. The years immediately preceding the War witnessed a steady expansion in the trade of the two Protectorates. This was, however, checked by the outbreak of hostilities. Down to 1914 a very large proportion of the palm kernels exported from West Africa went to Germany. At Hamburg large mills had been constructed for crushing the kernels and extracting the oil, and some little time was bound to elapse before equivalent facilities became available in Great Britain and in West Africa itself. Soon after the War a considerable duty was imposed on palm kernels exported



Foreign Trade and Revenue of Nigeria, 1909-1926.

from British West Africa, though this was remitted in respect of cargoes landed and crushed within the Empire. The duty was abolished in 1922, as it was felt to be detrimental to the West African producers themselves.

After 1916, exports, imports and revenue alike entered upon a great upward movement which culminated in the boom of 1920 though the fall in the value of money makes this advance appear greater than the quantity figures actually warrant. The really significant feature of these statistics, however, is the remarkable recovery which has been made since that time. In 1925 the value of exports surpassed even that of the boom year and had increased threefold during the fifteen years under review, an advance which is only partially offset by the change in the value of money. An analysis of these trade statistics would lead us too far afield. It is nevertheless of interest to note that, not only have the imports into Nigeria increased enormously, but Great Britain's share of those imports has also increased. For the five years immediately preceding the War the proportion was approximately seventy per cent., whereas, for the quinquennial period 1919-1923, it had risen to approximately eighty-two per cent.

The advancing prosperity of the country, to which these trade returns bear eloquent testimony, has naturally been reflected in the revenue figures. The last grant from the Imperial Government was made in 1918. Since that date Nigeria has been entirely self-supporting. Its development schemes have been

financed to some extent out of revenue, though the building of the railway trunk lines naturally called for borrowed capital. The credit of the country stands high and the necessary loans have been raised without difficulty. The public debt amounts at present to some twenty millions sterling, which appears to be quite a reasonable figure for a country so prosperous and full of promise for the future.

The twentieth century has thus witnessed a veritable revolution in the economic life, no less than in the political organization, of our greatest African Dependency. The introduction of 'indirect rule' and the limitations which have been placed on the activities of non-natives, more particularly with regard to the all-important question of the right to acquire land, do not seem to have checked the growth of production or of trade. Prosperity has indeed gone hand in hand with the initiation of what may soon come to be regarded as the most significant contribution of our times to the solution of that most difficult of problems of government, the rule of an advanced nation over the more primitive peoples of the world.

Part III

East Africa

Chapter XII

THE ADVENT OF THE BRITISH IN RHODESIA

THE history of the British Dependencies in East Africa offers several striking contrasts with that of the West African lands which have hitherto occupied our attention. By the end of the fifteenth century the Portuguese had indeed made their way up the Coast as far as Mombasa, their interest being concentrated on the route to India, but within less than two hundred years, the activities of the Arabs had restricted their influence to a few settlements in Mozambique. Inland penetration was extremely difficult, and even the coastal settlements offered but few incentives since the ocean-borne Slave Trade with America was recruited almost exclusively from the West Coast. East Africa was therefore of but little interest to Europeans until quite recent times, and the history of its hinterland, as seen through Western eyes, hardly begins until the days of David Livingstone. When, however, inland penetration had really commenced it was discovered that there were considerable areas of the East African highlands which appeared to be suitable for European settlement. Here, too, as a general rule, the native population was, and still is, much less dense than in the West, and an abundance of unoccupied land awaited the advent of the settler. In other words, East Africa makes its appearance

on the stage of world affairs later even than the Guinea Coast, but, when it does so, it offers attractions for a European population such as are entirely absent in the West.

Although their history, in our sense of the term, is thus quite recent, the lands lying between the Limpopo and the Zambezi contain many monuments of a much older civilization than that of the present native inhabitants. The imposing ruins at Zimbabwe, near Fort Victoria, represent indeed the greatest, but only one of a chain of ancient buildings scattered widely over large areas of Zambezia. The origin of these ruins has been a subject of much controversy. Earlier writers ascribed them to the Phoenicians, but many later scholars consider them to be of much more recent date.* Their association with gold mining is, however, clearly established, and millions of pounds worth of the precious metal must have been extracted from the prehistoric Rhodesian mines and exported, possibly to India. The fortresses themselves appear to have been built by local labour, though it can hardly be doubted that the work was carried out under the supervision of foreign taskmasters. Whatever future excavations may bring to light, it is already clear that the country now known as Southern Rhodesia was once in touch with the outside world and that, in

* *Vide* Burkitt, M. C., *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint* (1928), chap. x, for a recent review of the question. This writer suggests 'some date between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1200 for their construction and use' (p. 163).

all probability, long before the advent of the first Portuguese mariners to the East Coast.

At the present time these territories are inhabited by two principal native peoples, quite distinct from one another in origin and racial characteristics. In the East and the North are a variety of tribes known collectively to Europeans as the Mashonas, whose ancestors appear to have established some form of political organization in these regions as early as the sixteenth century. Their State system was weakened by internecine quarrels and invasions from the North, and in the nineteenth century the Mashonas passed under the suzerainty of the Matabele. This people represent the advance guard of Zulu migration from the South. Under the bold leadership of Mziligazi,* a party of Zulus left their native land, as a result of internal dissensions, and moved into the interior. The advent of Boer settlers made them advance still further northwards until, somewhere about the year 1838, Mziligazi laid the foundations of a Matabele kingdom in the west and the south of what is now Southern Rhodesia. He reigned there for thirty years, bringing more and more of the surrounding country under his sway, and was succeeded, shortly after his death, by his son Lobengula, who became King in 1870.

Prior to this date the Matabele had come but little into contact with Europeans, though Dr Moffat, the veteran pioneer of the London Missionary Society, had worked amongst them and had gained the friendship

* Also written Umsiligasi and Moselekatze.

and goodwill of their King. A few hunters had penetrated into these remote countries in search of ivory, and, in the late 'sixties, goldfields had been discovered on the Tati River, on the borders of Matabeleland and Bechuanaland. Many years were still to pass by, however, before European penetration into Lobengula's kingdom began in earnest. The immediate stimulus to this movement was provided by the gold discoveries made in the Transvaal in 1885 and 1886. As the precious metal existed on the Rand and in the Tati district, people began to wonder whether it might not also be found in the countries lying further to the North.

The British Government had already acquired certain rights of suzerainty in the hinterland of Cape Colony. The Pretoria Convention of 1881, which the First Boer War brought to an end, set definite limits to the westward expansion of the Transvaal. Relations with the natives beyond its borders were left in the hands of Great Britain, though treaty obligations did not prevent the Boers from advancing into the Bechuana country. In doing so, they disregarded the claims of the natives in territory which had become a classic field of British missionary enterprise, and public opinion in this country led the Government to assert its treaty rights and call a halt to further expansion on their part. A new Convention, signed at London in 1884, recognized the change in name of the Transvaal, which was henceforward known to the world as the South African Republic, and defined anew its south-western boundary.

Negotiations were immediately entered into with a number of native potentates, who handed over the administration of their territories to the British Crown. When the Boers interfered soon afterwards beyond their treaty frontiers, an expedition was sent up from Cape Colony under the command of Sir Charles Warren. The frontier with the South African Republic was marked out on the spot and, in 1884, a British Protectorate was proclaimed over Bechuanaland up to the twenty-second parallel (south latitude). In the following year Southern Bechuanaland became a Crown Colony. This forward policy on the part of the British Government owed not a little of its inspiration to the activities of Cecil Rhodes, who had made his fortune on the diamond fields, and had entered South African politics in 1882. His attempts to enlist the sympathies of the Dutch in Cape Colony, based, as they were, on his advocacy of a future Union of South Africa, with Cape Colony as the dominant partner, did not prove successful, but the annexation of Bechuanaland was the first move in the great northward expansion of British interests to which he devoted so much of his life.

Beyond Bechuanaland and the Limpopo lay the territories of the Matabele and the Mashonas. Both Mziligazi, who had made a treaty of amity with the Governor of the Cape in 1836, and his son Lobengula had been traditionally friendly to the British. The advent of adventurers and concession-hunters of all types into the Matabele country in the late 'eighties,



Sketch Map of Rhodesia and adjoining Territories.

however, added a new element of difficulty and, not unnaturally, aroused the suspicions of Lobengula. Moreover, his kingdom was looked upon with covetous eyes by the Boers, and, with the 'Scramble for Africa' at its height, Portugal advanced claims to wide areas of the Mozambique hinterland. Since the proclamation of a Protectorate over South-West Africa in 1885, Germany had also made her appearance on the scene. Unless something were done soon, this vast hinterland might well pass into the hands of some foreign Power and British northward expansion be put an end to for all time. Surrounded by the possessions of three European Powers—Great Britain, Portugal and Germany—and disturbed by white adventurers in his own dominions, Lobengula felt himself threatened. Moreover, the ready acceptance of a British Protectorate by Khama, chief of Northern Bechuanaland, seems to have made a considerable impression on his mind. When, therefore, J. S. Moffat, Assistant British Commissioner for Bechuanaland, son of Mziligazi's friend and adviser, and brother-in-law of David Livingstone, was sent on a mission by the British Government to his kraal at Bulawayo, Lobengula received him in most friendly fashion. In February, 1888, he signed a treaty, known as the Moffat Agreement, by which he undertook to 'refrain from entering into any correspondence or treaty with any foreign State or Power to sell, alienate or cede...the whole or any part of the country under his chieftainship, or upon any other subject, without the previous knowledge and sanction of

H.M.'s High Commissioner for South Africa'. In this way the kingdom of the Matabele became a sphere of British influence, though, so far as internal affairs were concerned, Lobengula's sovereign power was in no way circumscribed. The situation was, however, an anomalous one. The Matabele were a people of armed and disciplined savages; their political organization was in many respects remarkably developed, but it was, nevertheless, far enough removed from European standards. Slave-raiding and witchcraft, for example, were deeply ingrained in their nature. Lobengula himself, though tyrannical and often brutal, was in many ways a singularly fine example of a primitive chieftain. But his people were interlopers who had only been settled in their present territories for a little over half a century; they were a race of conquerors to whom war had been the breath of life. While the King was disposed to peace, it was not always easy for him to hold his young warriors in check. These facts must be borne in mind when considering the early history of British penetration. A fine, but primitive and barbarous native State organization stood between the white man and the realization of his economic ambitions. The tragic but inevitable dénouement is apparent from the very start.

Early in 1888 Great Britain thus acquired a dominant position in Lobengula's kingdom, and protests from Portugal and the South African Republic did nothing to shake it. The frontiers of the new sphere of influence were, however, quite undefined, and con-

cession hunters were proving a most disturbing factor at Bulawayo. At this juncture Cecil Rhodes, who had already had a share in inducing the Imperial Government to send J. S. Moffat on his mission, considered that the time had come to carry British penetration a stage further. The proclamation of a Protectorate would have entailed responsibilities which the British Government was quite unwilling to undertake. The only remaining possibility was to obtain concessions from Lobengula and, with this end in view, Rhodes despatched an expedition to Bulawayo under C. D. Rudd and J. R. Maguire. These were the first negotiators with an important financial backing to treat with Lobengula, and after lengthy conversations they obtained a concession of far-reaching importance. This agreement granted complete and exclusive 'charge' over all metals and minerals, together with the right to do all things necessary to produce them. It gave no land rights, but conferred authority to exclude all other people seeking land or mining rights within Lobengula's dominions.

Having acquired the 'Rudd Concession', Rhodes proceeded to work for the grant of a Royal Charter. There were, however, a number of rival concessionaires in the field, the most important of which were the Bechuanaland Exploration Company, and the Exploring Company, represented by Lord Gifford. Instead of contesting the validity of their concessions, Rhodes at once opened negotiations which led to the amalgamation of the principal interests involved and

the purchase of a number of rival claims. After endless difficulties had been overcome, the Royal Charter for the newly formed British South Africa Company was finally sealed on October 29th, 1889. 'The principal field of the operations of the...Company', ran this document, 'shall be the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland, and to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese dominions.' The significant point of this territorial definition was that no northern limit was set to the Company's sphere of action. Rhodes himself was no mere concession hunter, but rather a man who saw visions of a great British territory, spreading from the South, to link up with the lands under the control of the Imperial British East Africa Company, which had received its Charter of incorporation in the previous year.* From his point of view, therefore, it was essential that the South Africa Company should not only be authorized to hold, use and retain the full benefit of the concessions already granted by Lobengula, but that it should also be empowered, albeit subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, to acquire new concessions. The absence of a northern limit was therefore most significant. Within its sphere of action the Company was entitled to acquire by treaties from the natives 'any rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions and powers of any kind or nature whatever, including powers necessary for the

* *Vide infra*, chap. xv, p. 294.

purposes of government', subject always to the approval of the Secretary of State. On the other hand, it pledged itself, to the best of its ability, to preserve peace and order, to abolish the Slave Trade, and to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquor to the natives. In general, it may be said that the principal economic activities of the new Company were to be the construction of roads, railways and telegraphs, the acquisition and improvement of lands, the winning of minerals and the granting of lands to immigrants and others. It was forbidden to set up any monopoly in its territories, save with the express approval of the Secretary of State, and its political and administrative work was to be subject to the general control of the Colonial Office.

The first difficulty of the new Company was to overcome the latent opposition of Lobengula, who was disposed to challenge the validity of the Rudd Concession, claiming that the written agreement did not represent the actual sense of the grants he had made. Acting, in part, under the influence of interests hostile to the Rhodes group, he even asserted that, far from signing away the mineral rights of his country, he had merely promised them 'a hole to dig in'. This contention was, to say the least of it, somewhat improbable, in view of the fact that he was receiving a substantial monthly subsidy from the Company and was soon to accept a consignment of rifles in accordance with the terms of the concession. But his position was a most difficult one, since many

of his chiefs were most averse to opening the door still further to the white man.

At this juncture Dr Starr Jameson arrived at the royal kraal as Rhodes' representative and, after four months of the most wearisome and difficult negotiations, managed to persuade Lobengula to allow him to start prospecting in Mashonaland. It was made clear that the route to be followed by the pioneers, which had been carefully planned by F. C. Selous, the great African hunter, should keep clear of all the Matabele kraals. This was most essential, since contact at this juncture between the oncoming whites and the Matabele warriors could hardly have failed to lead to open hostilities.

Within a fortnight of the granting of the Charter the organization of a Pioneer force had already been taken in hand. Two hundred men were enrolled, in Cape Colony, for the most part, and organized on semi-military lines. Upon completion of his contract each man was guaranteed certain land and mineral rights in Mashonaland. At the same time, another body, called 'The British South Africa Company's Police', was recruited and trained under officers seconded from the British and colonial armies. Sanction for the expedition was at last obtained from the British High Commissioner for South Africa, and, towards the end of June, 1890, the Pioneers, with three hundred of the Company's Police, forded the Macloutsie River and started on their difficult march to the highlands of Mashonaland. Selous acted as

guide on this arduous journey and every attempt was made to cut a track, with the least possible delay, across the inhospitable low veld to the healthy plateau country which lay beyond. There were, indeed, serious grounds for anxiety, since Lobengula had not bargained for the despatch of a military force into Mashonaland, and his warriors became restive, urging him to make a trial of strength with the white men before they could establish themselves in the country. Fortunately, however, all hostile contact with the Matabele was avoided and, early in September, the expedition passed beyond the normal range of their marauding activities. On the twelfth of the month the Pioneers reached their final destination in the Mount Hampden country and built a fort there to which they gave the name of Salisbury, after the Prime Minister of the day. This was the third of a series of posts established along their line of march, the first being Fort Tuli, on the Shashi River, and the second, named Fort Victoria, on the edge of the plain. The whole expedition was carried out with remarkable energy and determination. Hundreds of miles of road had to be cut through the bush, while the steep hills offered almost insurmountable obstacles to waggon transport. And yet the trek of a thousand miles was accomplished in less than three months, and even the most hostile critic of the activities of the British South Africa Company cannot fail to praise the 'amazing fortitude and courage' shown by the Pioneers on their epic journey into Mashonaland.

The establishment of a settlement at Salisbury was, to the mind of Rhodes, merely one stage the more in the northward march of British influence. It remained to be seen what the eastern limits of the lands claimed by Lobengula really were, and how far they could be extended. On the frontiers of Mashonaland, moreover, the Portuguese asserted wide claims to dominion in virtue of their settlements on the Mozambique coast. They regarded both Gungunyana of Gazaland, and Umtasa of Manica, who were the most important chieftains in this part of Central Africa, as being under their suzerainty, and the situation was complicated still further by the fact that Gungunyana himself claimed Umtasa as his vassal. Rhodes at once entered into negotiations with both these potentates. Acting on the assumption that Umtasa was a Paramount Chief, the Company concluded a treaty with him in September, 1890, the very month in which the Pioneers arrived at Salisbury. Meanwhile, however, the Portuguese were far from idle. In November they sent Colonel d'Andrade to treat with Umtasa at Umtali in Manica, but he was outnumbered by a small British force under Captain Forbes and repatriated by way of Cape Town. This was the first of a series of international incidents which characterized the 'Scramble' for this part of Africa. Further complications resulted from the mission Rhodes had sent to Gazaland. Gungunyana was an incorrigible drunkard, but neither this nor his vanity prevented his agreeing to grant to the Company the mineral rights

in his dominions in return for rifles and a subsidy. The next problem was how these promised weapons could be sent. The only practicable route was by way of the Limpopo River, but its mouth was occupied by the Portuguese. In February, 1891, however, the cargo was placed on board a small screw-steamer, the *Countess of Carnarvon*, and, after a bond had been entered into with the local Portuguese Intendente for the payment of any duties which might prove legally due, was delivered at Gungunyana's kraal at Manhlagazi. Dr Jameson soon arrived from Mashonaland, and the concession made in the previous autumn was duly confirmed. The Company's agents thereupon returned to the Limpopo and went on board the *Countess of Carnarvon*. To their surprise this vessel was seized by a Portuguese gunboat, and its passengers were removed and 'very harshly treated'—to quote Dr Jameson—on their journey down to Delagoa Bay. The British Government at once insisted on the release of the ship and Portugal was obliged to acquiesce.

During these critical months public opinion in Portugal was greatly incensed at the events which had taken place in the Mozambique hinterland. The arrest of Colonel d'Andrade, in particular, had aroused the most bitter feelings, and an expeditionary force, composed largely of student volunteers from home, arrived at Beira in February, 1891. Martial law was proclaimed, and the port of Beira and the Pungwe River were declared closed to foreign traffic. This was contrary to the terms of a *modus vivendi* which had

been accepted by Great Britain and Portugal in November, 1890, pending a final settlement of the points at issue between them.* Under this agreement the King of Portugal had also undertaken to 'facilitate communication between the Portuguese ports on the coast and the territories included in the sphere of action of Great Britain'. When, however, a road-making party was sent by the Company to Beira in April and began to proceed up the river, it was fired on by Portuguese gunboats and compelled to return. On receiving news of this gross breach of faith Lord Salisbury protested vigorously at Lisbon and, at the same time, ordered a cruiser and two gunboats to proceed without delay to Beira. This double *démarche* had the desired effect and the direct route to Mashonaland from the East Coast was once more thrown open. In the hinterland, however, affairs remained critical. A detachment of two hundred Portuguese troops, reinforced by native levies, had advanced to Macequece with the avowed object of driving the British out of Manica. Captain Heyman, with thirty-three of the Company's Police and fifteen volunteers, took up a position on Chua Hill, near Umtasa's kraal at Umtali, and determined to resist, by force if needs be, the Portuguese commander's order to evacuate these territories. He was attacked on May 11th, but the rank and file of the invading force was completely dispirited and they were entirely

* These included rival claims to the Shiré valley and Lake Nyasa, which are discussed in chap. xiv (*infra*, p. 271).

outclassed in marksmanship by the small British force. This determined resistance, and a successful ruse, which led them to fear the arrival of British reinforcements from Salisbury, caused the Portuguese to retire in disorder, leaving most of their ammunition and baggage behind them.

The advent of British warships at Beira combined with the defeat at Umtali to make the Portuguese Government agree to the terms of a new treaty, which had been under negotiation for some time past. This convention, ratified on July 3rd, 1891, finally delimited the British and Portuguese spheres in East Central Africa, and fixed the eastern frontiers of the territory administered by the Chartered Company. Portugal renounced all claims to Manica, though her aspirations in Gazaland were recognized and she was also given a favourable frontier on the north bank of the Zambezi River above Tete. Freedom of navigation was guaranteed over the Zambezi, the Shiré, the Pungwe, the Limpopo and certain other rivers and their tributaries, while absolute freedom of passage for all merchandise was assured between the British sphere and Pungwe Bay. The Portuguese Government also undertook to construct a railway to link up Pungwe with the British hinterland. If the two Powers failed to agree as to certain details connected with this line, its construction was to be given to a Company designated by a neutral Power. In this manner Mashonaland acquired the possibility of access to the sea by the most direct route and the way

was prepared for the future economic development of the country.

The lands to the north of the Zambezi River had also occupied Rhodes' attention. Although first crossed by a Portuguese traveller named Dr Lacerda towards the end of the eighteenth century, these vast territories had remained a *terra incognita* to Europeans until Livingstone's great trans-continental journey in the 'fifties. His opening-up of the country was not, however, reinforced by missionary endeavour, and, in the following years, the Upper Zambezi was the scene of the most savage and brutal tribal wars. In this welter of bloodshed the Makololo people, who had themselves invaded these lands in the early years of the century, were practically annihilated (1865), and the territory later to be known as North-Western Rhodesia passed under the hegemony of the Barotse. In the middle 'eighties, however, a French Protestant Mission, under the leadership of that noble and devoted pioneer François Coillard, began operations at a few points on the Zambezi, and gradually came to exercise a civilizing influence over the Barotse King, Lewanika. These natives had, in many ways, a well-developed tribal system, but the Slave Trade was carried on quite openly in their country by natives from Portuguese Angola. Coillard was, therefore, determined to use all his influence in order to persuade the Barotse to come under British protection. Lewanika's first overtures to the Administrator of Bechuanaland were made in 1889 and were inspired in part by the fear

of a Matabele incursion into his territory. The British reply was friendly but non-committal. Events were, however, pressing forward rapidly, for, in the same year, a Kimberley concession hunter managed to induce Lewanika to grant him a monopoly of mining rights in the Batoka country. When Rhodes heard of this transaction he at once purchased the concession from the Kimberley speculators into whose hands it had passed and then sent a mission to treat direct with Lewanika at his kraal at Lealui. The good offices of Coillard, and the arrival of an embassy from Khama of Bechuanaland proved invaluable in allaying the suspicions which had been sedulously fostered in the native mind by a number of European adventurers, and an agreement was finally arrived at in June, 1890. Lewanika accorded the Company full mining and commercial rights over his territories and undertook not to enter into any similar agreement with any other party. He was to remain a Paramount Chief, but recognized the British Protectorate. The Company, for its part, gave him an annual subsidy of £2000 and guaranteed him protection from outside attack. While Lewanika undertook to do all in his power to suppress witchcraft and slaving, the Company also promised not to allow immigration without his consent. This agreement brought Barotseland into contact with European civilization, though, unfortunately, seven more years were to elapse before the first Resident Commissioner was appointed and a regular administration set up to supervise native rule.

In the country lying between the south end of Lake Tanganyika and Lakes Mweru, Bangweolo and Nyasa—a territory which will be associated for all time with the name of David Livingstone—Rhodes had also been displaying his characteristic energy and foresight. The story of the establishment of a British Protectorate over Nyasaland is told elsewhere; here we are concerned rather with the manner in which what was afterwards known as North-Eastern Rhodesia was acquired by the Company. It is interesting to notice, however, that whereas European penetration into Matabeleland, Mashonaland and Barotseland came from the South, the pioneers into the Lake Country advanced from the East Coast, by way of the Zambezi and Shiré Rivers. Moreover, these territories were inhabited by a vast number of native tribes, no one of which had been strong enough to establish its rule over the whole country, though, during the course of the nineteenth century, the northern parts had come greatly under the influence of Arab slave-raiders from Zanzibar.

In 1890 Alfred Sharpe, who originally came to Central Africa on a hunting expedition, but had already helped fight the Arabs on Lake Nyasa, became a Commissioner of the Chartered Company. At Blantyre he was joined by Joseph Thomson, the explorer, who had also undertaken to negotiate treaties, on behalf of the Company, with the native chieftains of the Lake Country. They concerted a joint plan of action for proceeding to Katanga, which was

already suspected of having great mineral wealth. Sharpe was to follow the northern route by way of Lakes Tanganyika and Mweru, while Thomson advanced round the southern end of Lake Bangweolo to meet him. In this way they hoped to cover most of the territory and induce the chiefs with whom they came in contact to accept British suzerainty. Although they were subjected to endless vexations, these two pioneers of empire succeeded in concluding a large number of treaties. In their major objective they were, however, less successful. The authorities of the Congo Free State had also realized the possibilities of the Katanga country, which, incidentally, was probably intended by the authors of the Berlin General Act of 1885 to fall within their sphere. A strong expedition under Captain Stairs, a British army officer in their service, succeeded in reaching its goal before the agents of the Company, and proceeded to take possession of Katanga on behalf of the Congo Free State.

Rhodes' agents thus added vast territories to the Empire in Central Africa, and these acquisitions were duly recognized by other Powers. By the 'Heligoland' Treaty of 1890 the frontier between the British and German spheres was fixed along a line drawn from the northern end of Lake Nyasa to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. If German activities in East Africa had prevented the realization of his dream of establishing territorial continuity between Bechuana-land and the sphere of the British East Africa Company, Rhodes had nevertheless the satisfaction of seeing

British rule advanced in the Lake Country up to the ninth parallel of south latitude. The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891 laid down the south-eastern frontiers of Northern Rhodesia from Zumbo on the Zambezi to the Nyasaland border; while, by the Convention of 1890 with Great Britain, the South African Republic withdrew all claims to territory beyond the Limpopo. The only frontier of the Company's territories which remained to be delimited was that on the North-West. The Portuguese had recognized Barotseland as being within the British sphere, but it was not until 1905 that its actual limits were defined by the King of Italy, who acted as umpire between the two interested Powers.

Chapter XIII

RHODESIA UNDER COMPANY RULE

BY the end of 1891 the period of concession hunting was virtually over and the British South Africa Company had acquired a dominant position, as against all other Europeans, over a vast territory with an area of approximately four hundred and forty thousand square miles. The extent of its authority, however, was not as yet very clearly defined, and many years were to elapse before its jurisdiction was established on a regular basis in the country lying to the north of the Zambezi. It was sufficient, for the moment, that these territories should have been secured to the British sphere; for the next few years events further South were to absorb all the energies of the Company and its administrators.

The Pioneers and Police who arrived at Salisbury in September, 1890, were soon faced with the greatest hardships and privations. The little European colony in Mashonaland, which numbered perhaps a thousand in all, depended almost entirely upon the Company for its supplies. The rainy season was exceptionally severe that year and, for a time, all communication with the South was put an end to. The severities of the climate also caused untold misery to the host of adventurers who had been lured northwards by the prospects of the newly tapped goldfields, and many

died on the way. It was not, indeed, until May, 1891, that new immigrants began to pour into Mashonaland, though their advent made the establishment of some form of government a matter of extreme urgency. The whole situation was irregular, since the Rudd Concession had not granted the Company any administrative powers in Lobengula's dominions, nor had it conferred any title to land. The settlers, however, were naturally anxious to secure their position, but land titles were not actually granted by the Company until Rhodes, in the same year, purchased the concession made by Lobengula to a German financier named Lippert.* Whatever the legal situation might be, the actual needs of the pioneer community were to prove paramount. To meet these the High Commissioner for South Africa issued a proclamation in which he applied the existing laws of the Cape Colony to Mashonaland and, on the nomination of the Company, appointed a Resident Commissioner (who was later known under the title of Administrator). This post was assumed in August by Dr Jameson, who set to work to build up the nucleus of an administration. His methods were, admittedly, somewhat rough and ready, but well adapted to the 'frontier' conditions then prevailing. The Police Force was drastically reduced in numbers,

* This purported to give the concessionary the exclusive right, for one hundred years, to deal in all lands in Matabeleland and Mashonaland. It was thus in flagrant violation of the Rudd Concession, in which Lobengula had promised 'to grant no concession of land' without the consent and concurrence of Rudd and his group.

with a view to effecting economies which were, at that time, most essential. In its place, however, a Volunteer Corps, with headquarters at Salisbury, was enrolled from amongst the settlers and every able-bodied man was armed and declared liable to defend the colony in case of need. Dr Jameson assured Lobengula that no prospectors would be allowed to the west of the Shasha River, near Victoria, and urged him, in return, to prevent any Matabele raids beyond this border. Although no formal agreement was reached on this point, the white settlers were left undisturbed in their new homes for several months. Whether it would be possible for a barbarous native kingdom to continue to exist side by side with a group of white frontiersmen without a clash was, however, another question and one which was destined soon to be forced to a conclusion.

The Mashonas, as we have seen, were tributary to the Matabele. Living, as they did, in the more immediate vicinity of the white settlements, it was inevitable that they should pass, to some extent, under European influence. In 1892, for example, a Mashona chief, who was accused of having robbed a settler, resisted arrest, whereupon a punitive expedition was sent against him which, it must be admitted, 'acted with recklessness and undue harshness'. It is unfortunately only too probable that European pioneers in savage lands should occasionally behave in somewhat high-handed fashion towards natives against whom they may happen to have grounds of complaint.

At the same time it was hard indeed to expect the colonists in Mashonaland to stand by and do nothing when hordes of Matabele descended upon the country to enforce their suzerainty over the miserable Mashonas. During the course of a large-scale raid undertaken in July, 1893, with a view to punishing the Mashonas for the theft of cattle, a Matabele army entered the township of Victoria and killed a number of natives. Although no Europeans were molested, this raid completely disorganized the settlement, and a volunteer force of some four hundred men was at once brought under arms. The Matabele leader demanded that a party of local natives who had taken refuge in the fort should be handed over to him for punishment, a request that could not be complied with. When he arrived at Victoria, Dr Jameson at once realized that the situation was most critical. He ordered the Matabele leaders to withdraw to their side of the border. This they did not actually do until a small skirmish had taken place with a British patrol, as a result of which a number of the Matabele were killed. The first shot appears to have been fired by the British, but this has been contested and is obviously very difficult to establish. Lobengula, for his part, denied all knowledge of a 'border' on the Shasha River between Matabele and Company territory. In an impartial survey, this really appears to be the crux of the matter. No border had been formally agreed upon, but the future of white settlement was unthinkable if Matabele warriors and Company agents

were to exercise concurrent jurisdiction. In any case, the right of conquest was Lobengula's only title to Mashonaland, and the effectiveness of Matabele rule would hardly bear examination. In certain isolated cases the British may have acted harshly towards the natives of the plateau, but there can be little doubt that administration by Company agents was infinitely preferable to the periodic raids of the Matabele suzerain, which brought nothing but destruction and carnage in their wake. In a word, there was no room for both Matabele and British rule in Mashonaland.

Their success near Fort Victoria fired the imagination of the settlers. A number of enthusiastic meetings were held in which it was urged that the Victoria incident should be used as a test case to settle matters with Lobengula once and for all. The invasion of Matabeleland was, however, a very different matter from merely expelling Matabele raiders from Mashonaland. The Company was by no means prepared for hostilities, and its financial resources were urgently needed for a vast programme of railway and telegraph construction. The Imperial Government, for its part, was determined to maintain friendly relations with Lobengula and worked for a peaceful settlement of the points at issue. The current of opinion in Mashonaland was, however, too strong for the local officials of the Company to disregard, even had they desired to do so. They were, indeed, given to understand that, if the Company did not act, the settlers would take

matters into their own hands. *Dr Jameson therefore threw himself with his accustomed energy into the task of organizing a strong volunteer army. The principal conditions of service for the members of the Victoria force were that each man would be entitled to a farm of six thousand acres in any part of Matabeleland; and that, in addition, he might peg out certain gold claims in the territory about to be conquered. Any loot was to be divided equally between the Company and the members of the force. This agreement of August, 1893, quite definitely envisaged the overthrow of Lobengula, and clearly indicated the warlike intentions of the Volunteers.

Lobengula himself was strongly averse to war, but found it difficult to restrain his younger warriors. In September news came through that the Matabele regiments were mobilizing and that their outposts were threatening Tuli and the line of communications between Mashonaland and the South. The High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, therefore arranged for a number of Khama's men to reinforce the Bechuanaland Police, under Major (Sir Hamilton) Goold-Adams, for the defence of the frontier. Meanwhile, the equipment of the Volunteers at Salisbury and Victoria had been proceeding apace, for, in the event of war, Rhodes wished the campaign to be a Company affair; by limiting the scope of operations of the imperial forces he hoped to prevent the Home Government from dictating the terms of peace. At this juncture a British patrol came into contact with a party of

Matabele in the Victoria district, and a detachment of Bechuanaland Police were fired on while patrolling their side of the frontier. Sir Henry Loch thereupon authorized Dr Jameson to drive the invaders to a safe distance from Victoria and ordered Major Goold-Adams to occupy Tati. The volunteers from Salisbury effected a junction with the Victoria contingent in the middle of October, and an army of about seven hundred whites, with two or three hundred Mashonas, was ready to march on Bulawayo. The first important engagement was fought on the Shangani River early in the morning of October 25th. The Matabele attack was conducted with great bravery, but proved powerless against Maxim guns. Thanks to the superior equipment of the whites, the native regiments broke and fled, after losing several hundreds of their number. The advance of the Volunteers was then continued as far as the Imbembesi River, within about twenty miles of Bulawayo. Here the Matabele fought a second desperate engagement on November 1st, but with the same inevitable result. Nothing now stood in the way of the forward march on Lobengula's capital. Upon their arrival there, however, the Volunteers found that the royal kraal had been fired and that the King himself had fled, though two white traders who happened to have been in Bulawayo at the time were quite unharmed—a touching tribute to Lobengula's personal loyalty.

Within a month of crossing the border the little army of Volunteers had thus succeeded in defeating

the organized forces of the Matabele kingdom. Major Goold-Adams' contingent, which reached Bulawayo from the South a few days later, rendered invaluable assistance, but the main burden of the campaign was borne by the Company's forces. Lobengula's attempts at negotiating peace had all been frustrated, and he was now a fugitive in the country over which he had long reigned in savage splendour. In the guerilla warfare which followed, a patrol under Major Wilson followed Lobengula's party across the Shangani River early in December. The river itself rose suddenly and cut them off from the main body. The little party kept up a vigorous resistance until their ammunition was exhausted, but then their position was rushed and they were cut down to the last man. This final engagement of the campaign was made all the more tragic by the fact that, a few days earlier, Lobengula had sent two messengers with a bag of sovereigns to make his submission to the white man. The troopers to whom they handed the money merely appropriated it to their own use and his message was never delivered. Lobengula's own fate is a matter of some uncertainty, but it was generally believed that he died early in 1894. Hostilities, however, were at an end, and the Matabele quickly left their hiding places and returned to their kraals. The terms of their disarmament were 'construed in a very liberal spirit' and they succeeded in concealing a considerable number of weapons, which were to prove most dangerous before many years had elapsed.

The first problem to be taken in hand was the organization of a British administration in Matabeleland in place of the native kingdom which had just been overthrown. Rhodes urged that the matter should be left in the hands of the Company, on the ground that Lobengula's dominions were included in the sphere defined by the Charter; that the Company's forces had conquered the country; and that the nucleus of an administration, which already existed in Mashonaland, could easily be extended to Matabeleland as well. His position was greatly strengthened by the disappearance of Lobengula and by the halo of glory which surrounded the memory of Major Wilson and his gallant comrades in misfortune. Hostile critics in England had lost ground for the time being and an agreement, which was soon come to between Rhodes and Sir Henry Loch, received the approval of the British Government and was put into force by the Matabeleland Order in Council of July, 1894. Company control was established over Matabeleland and Mashonaland alike; a Court was to be set up to delimit native reserves; a Council was instituted to assist the Company's Administrator; and the Company was empowered to levy taxation to meet the expenses of government. An outward and visible sign of the unification of these lands came in the following year, when a proclamation of the Administrator gave the name of Rhodesia to 'the territories now or hereafter placed under the control of the British South Africa Company'.

The country to the north of the Limpopo was now opened up to Europeans as never before in its history. Prospectors, speculators and the like moved up from the South. Their principal destination was Matabeleland, where a large number of old gold diggings were discovered, though the lack of transport facilities made their exploitation a very difficult matter for the time being. Plans for the construction of a railway from Mafeking northwards were, however, actively prosecuted, while schemes were also beginning to materialize for a line linking up Salisbury with the port of Beira. Unfortunately, in the general atmosphere of haste which is so characteristic of frontier life, a number of serious mistakes were made in the handling of the native population. Compulsory labour was introduced in a certain number of cases, while the Commission appointed to consider the question of native lands created two large reserves in localities of which they had only very imperfect knowledge and one, at least, of which was to prove quite unsuitable for the purpose. Another difficulty arose with regard to the native cattle, which had belonged to Lobengula himself for the most part and were therefore regarded as having passed to the Company. While some were given to the principal chieftains as their own private property, ownership over the rest remained vested in the Company, though they were actually left in native charge as of old. A number of cattle appear, however, to have been withdrawn each month for the use of the Company, and the uncertainty and irritation which this

engendered naturally led to much discontent. An unexpected outbreak of rinderpest added to these troubles, more particularly as the Company's administrators were thereby compelled to destroy large numbers of cattle—a precautionary measure entirely beyond the comprehension of the native mind. For reasons of economy a native police force was set up in the new territories. It seems to have been recruited largely from amongst the less desirable elements of native society and was not brought properly under European control. In any case, 'the overbearing action' of this force was much resented by the erstwhile Matabele warriors, who also felt most deeply the absence of a king as head of native society. By the end of 1895, therefore, many causes were at work to create discontent and disaffection amongst a fighting people who, as one writer has put it, had been stunned rather than conquered in the short campaign of 1893.

The apparent readiness with which the Matabele had settled down under their new rulers seems to have made the small white population quite insensible to the dangers inherent in the situation. Moreover, their interest was soon to be focussed on political adventures further South. The Company's administration was extended, by agreement with the British Government, over certain parts of Bechuanaland through which the projected railway from Mafeking to Bulawayo was to pass. The appointment of Dr Jameson as Resident Commissioner in these territories did not greatly

interest public opinion in Rhodesia. Even though this was followed by the removal of most of the white police force from Rhodesia to Bechuanaland, the real significance of these movements escaped all notice. The conspirators had, indeed, succeeded in keeping their secret only too well, for when Jameson led five hundred men over the Transvaal border on December 29th, 1895, the whole world was taken completely by surprise. Three days later the Raid on Johannesburg had failed and its leader was a prisoner in the hands of the Boers. The importance of this foolhardy adventure in the history of Rhodesia is twofold. The Raid denuded the country of its white police and showed the natives that these men were not invincible. It was not the cause, but it did at least provide the occasion for the terrible Matabele revolt, which began on March 20th, 1896.

The various motives of disaffection had been made the most of by the witch-doctors, and the religious prejudices of a savage people intensified the horrors of their outburst against company rule. Within a week a hundred and thirty whites had been murdered and the mutilation of dead bodies bore witness to the frenzy of the rebels. Stores and homesteads were burned to the ground, and all Europeans who still remained alive were forced to take refuge in Bulawayo and a few other principal centres. In this atmosphere of primitive savagery and blood lust the British and Dutch inhabitants fought for their very lives. The defences of Bulawayo were strengthened and relief parties scoured the country in what was, only too

frequently, a vain endeavour to bring succour to the outlying settlements. A series of small forts were constructed along the road leading from Bulawayo to the South, but nearly a month elapsed before the white forces were able to inflict a serious reverse on the Matabele on the Umguza River, and greatly ease the situation thereby. Meanwhile the concentration of troops at Mafeking was continuing apace. A body of volunteers, called the 'Matabeleland Relief Force', was raised and commanded by Major Plumer,* the Assistant Military Secretary at the Cape. During the month of May his little army of eight hundred men advanced on Bulawayo, while Rhodes, who had come with a small party from Mashonaland, reached the capital on June 1st. The political situation was in the hands of Earl Grey, who had succeeded Dr Jameson as Administrator. As a consequence of the Raid, however, the British Government had decided to assume direct control over all armed forces in Rhodesia, and appointed Major-General Sir Frederick Carrington to the supreme command for the duration of the operations. He arrived at Bulawayo a day after Rhodes, bringing with him Colonel Baden-Powell as his chief staff-officer. Arrangements were quickly made for a combined attack on the Matoppos Hills, which was the principal nucleus of Matabele resistance, but, at this juncture, the situation was immensely complicated by a wholly unexpected rising in another

* Now Field-Marshal Lord Plumer, whose distinguished services during the World War are well known to all.

part of the country. The Matabele witch-doctors had kept in touch with their colleagues in Mashonaland. They now gave out that there were no white soldiers left and that the isolated white settlers would fall an easy prey to the Matabele warriors, who were about to raid Mashonaland as in days of old. The Mashonas themselves were warned of the penalties that would be meted out to them if they did not join in this war of extermination. On June 15th the natives of Mashonaland suddenly rose in revolt, and, within a very few days, had massacred over a hundred white settlers with their assegais and battle-axes.

To meet this new danger, Carrington despatched a relief column from Bulawayo to Salisbury, while a detachment of imperial troops, sent from Cape Town by way of Beira, reached the same destination early in August. From this moment all danger of attack by the Mashona peoples, who had nothing like the fighting qualities of the Matabele, was virtually at an end, and the rebels were forced to remain on the defensive. In Matabeleland and Mashonaland alike, however, the normal occupations of the white settlers were at a complete standstill and the economic position of the country was seriously threatened. In July Plumer attacked the Matabele at Tabasimamba, a natural granite fortress which they defended with great determination. Although their defeat at this place did much to break down their resistance, the pacification of the country was still far enough away. The operations in the Matoppo Hills were

causing many casualties, and to Rhodes it seemed as though guerilla warfare might last almost indefinitely, in spite of the food shortage which was the result of the combined ravages of war and rinderpest. He therefore determined to open direct negotiations with the Matabele insurgents, who, he had heard, were already showing signs of war weariness. His own position was a somewhat curious one. He had resigned from the Board of the Company after the Raid and therefore had no political or military standing whatsoever. To the natives, however, he was still the great white chief, and when, on August 21st, he boldly rode out into the hills, accompanied by three Europeans and two Africans, he was met by a number of Matabele chiefs and conversations soon began in earnest. His personal courage in undertaking this dangerous mission was only equalled by the tact and understanding which he displayed during two whole months of wearisome negotiations. Finally the British terms were accepted, on October 13th, and the insurrection in Matabeleland was at an end. It was agreed that natives who were guilty of murder should be brought to trial and that all arms should be surrendered. In return for this, it was promised that a number of grievances should be put right, while the erstwhile insurgents, no less than their more peaceful fellows, were to receive food and seed for the coming year. No higher tribute could be paid to Rhodes' statesmanship than the remarkable manner in which he succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Matabele.

The courage and the sympathy which he had shown during these difficult months, when he was living in close proximity to Matabele headquarters and far removed from all military protection, did much to remove the misunderstandings and misgivings of the past and to prepare the way for a real pacification of the country.

In Mashonaland, however, there was unfortunately no organized native confederacy with which to negotiate a settlement, and military operations dragged on for nearly a year more. It was a long wearing-out process, during which one native chief after another was slowly forced into submission. The British troops suffered from fever, and tempers were sorely tried as the Mashonas were gradually hunted, like wild beasts, from the caves and rocky fastnesses to which they had fled for refuge. Finally, by the end of September, 1898, the last vestiges of revolt were stamped out and Rhodesia entered upon a new period of civilization and prosperity.

The revolt in Matabeleland and Mashonaland had emphasized the need for better transport facilities and the railways already under construction were pushed forward with amazing rapidity. Before the end of 1897 the trunk line from Mafeking reached Bulawayo, and, in the same year, through communication was established by rail from Salisbury, by way of Umtali, to Beira. The outbreak of the South African War, in October, 1899, was only to prove a temporary set-back. The British South Africa Company's police and volunteers from Rhodesia did,

indeed, play an important part in the hostilities, and these activities naturally acted as a limiting factor on the economic development of the country. By the end of the following year, however, the relief of Mafeking and the annexation of the Transvaal had greatly clarified the situation, and construction work in Rhodesia could be taken in hand with renewed vigour. The railway from Bulawayo to Salisbury, three hundred miles away, was completed in 1902. At the same time work was begun upon a great trunk line, to run from Bulawayo to the Victoria Falls and thence, across the Zambezi, to the rich mineral lands of Central Africa. This was one of Rhodes' most cherished schemes, though his premature death robbed him of the pleasure of seeing it realized. In 1903 the line was advanced as far as the coalfields of Wankie, and the Victoria Falls were reached in the following year. In this manner the main outline of the railway system of Southern Rhodesia was completed within seven years of the arrival of the railhead at Bulawayo and only fourteen years after the advent of the first white settlers in Mashonaland. The construction of these lines was taken in hand by a number of subsidiary companies, specially formed by the British South Africa Company for the purpose,* and the rapidity with which they were constructed bears eloquent testimony to the tireless energy of the man who gave his name to the country they were built to serve.

* The year 1909-10 was the first in which these railways showed a profit.

After the suppression of the revolt of 1896 the government of these territories was put upon a new footing, in accordance with the terms of the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1898. The Administrator of the British South Africa Company was henceforward to be assisted by a Legislative Council, comprising five official members and four members elected by the white population, while a Resident Commissioner was appointed to represent the Imperial High Commissioner at Cape Town and to advise him, more particularly on native questions. All ordinances of the Legislative Council were submitted to the High Commissioner for his approval, and his sanction was also required for the appointment of the Secretary of Native Affairs and all officials in his department.

In the original Charter granted to the Company it was stipulated that 'careful regard shall always be had to the customs and laws' of the natives, 'especially with respect to the holding, possession, transfer and disposition of lands' (§ 14). In the early days, however, lands had been granted freely to settlers under the authority, for what it was worth, of the Lippert concession, and by 1894 most of the gold-bearing country had been alienated to Europeans. In the same year two large reserves were created, with a view to guaranteeing the natives a sufficiency of land, but these were chosen hastily and did not prove suitable, while the beneficiaries were naturally averse to 'abandoning districts which they had occupied for

several generations' and moving to territories far away from their existing kraals. After the great revolt of 1896 the Company accepted a compromise by which some of the natives were allowed to remain in European districts, but the arrival of new white settlers made the problem one of considerable difficulty. Over all these matters the British Government, acting through the High Commissioner, who was, in his turn, represented by the Resident Commissioner at Bulawayo, exercised direct control. In addition to the two principal reserves on the Shangani and the Gwaai Rivers, a number of smaller areas were set aside for native use in different parts of the country. A Commission was set up immediately before the War to report on the whole question, and most of its recommendations were given effect to in an Order in Council issued on November 10th, 1920. The native reserves so constituted were vested in the High Commissioner and set apart 'for the sole and exclusive use and occupation of the native inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia'. They amount, in all, to some twenty-two million acres of land, as against thirty-one millions already in European hands, and some forty-three millions which are as yet unalienated. At the present time approximately five hundred and thirty thousand natives hold land on communal tenure in the reserves, while the remaining three hundred thousand live on unalienated or European land as rent-paying tenants.

While the British Government closely supervised the activities of the Chartered Company in questions

of native policy and administration, the white settlers increased in number and soon began to claim a greater share in the government of the country. The Administrator at Bulawayo was responsible to a Board of Directors in London, and the British South Africa Company, in addition to its administrative duties, was also a great trading concern with wide interests in the lands, the railways and the mines of Rhodesia. The death of Cecil Rhodes in 1902 removed the one outstanding personality capable of acting as an intermediary between the often conflicting claims of the settlers and the Company. In the following year the Board agreed to an alteration in the composition of the Legislative Council, which was now to be composed of seven official and seven elected members. If the Council declined to pass the financial estimates, the Administrator was empowered to continue to meet the charges essential for the conduct of government. There was, however, an annual excess of expenditure over revenue, which the Company proposed to meet by means of a loan. This suggestion was resisted by the settlers, who accused the Administration of extravagance and of applying administrative revenue for its commercial undertakings. After prolonged discussions between the Company, the settlers and the Colonial Office, an Order in Council was issued in 1911 which provided for an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council, subject to the condition that no legislation interfering with the land or other rights of the Company should be considered without the approval of the Administrator.

The period of twenty-five years for which the original Charter had been granted came to an end in 1914. Rhodesia, though well on the way to responsible government, was not as yet able to stand alone in financial matters, and the Legislative Council agreed to an extension of company rule for a further period of ten years. The deficit of the Company on administrative account had meanwhile increased to a total stated to amount to seven and three-quarter millions sterling. As an offset to this the Company claimed the rights over all the unalienated lands in the country. This was resisted by the Legislative Council on the ground that these lands were vested in the Company simply and solely in virtue of its exercise of government and that 'if and when the Company's administration comes to an end,...the Company's successors in the administration will *ipso facto* be entitled to the lands then remaining unalienated as administrative assets for the country's benefit'. The points at issue were referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for an advisory opinion, which was handed down in 1918. It was held that the concessions granted by Lobengula were valueless as a title deed to these lands, and any rights that the Matabele King may have had over them had passed to the Crown by right of conquest.* Although the Company's claim

* In conquering the country the Company was acting on behalf of the Crown, which had never transferred the rights thus acquired. The Company, as its agent, had, however, acted quite properly in disposing of lands, but could have no claim in its own right to these lands.

was thus held to be inadmissible, the Privy Council was nevertheless of the opinion that it was entitled to 'the due reimbursement of any outstanding balance of aggregated advances made by it for necessary and proper expenditure upon the public administration of Southern Rhodesia'.

This, then, was the legal position in 1920 when the Legislative Council requested that responsible government should be established forthwith in Southern Rhodesia. A Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, under the chairmanship of Earl Buxton, reported favourably upon the project, and a deputation of the Legislative Council proceeded to London to draft a provisional scheme. At the same time they were invited to discuss with the Government of South Africa as to the conditions upon which Southern Rhodesia would be admitted to the Union. The two proposals were submitted to a referendum of all the electors on October 27th, 1922, with the result that 8774 voted for responsible government and 5989 for incorporation in the Union of South Africa.

Before the Imperial Government could give effect to the wishes thus expressed by the Rhodesian people, it was necessary that a settlement should be come to with the British South Africa Company. After lengthy negotiations effect was finally given to the opinion handed down by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1918, in an agreement concluded in July, 1923. The British Government took over the administration of all the Company's territories, while

the Company surrendered all its administrative assets (including buildings). It retained the lands it was itself developing on a commercial basis and accepted a payment of £3,750,000 in full discharge of all claims in respect of its administrative deficits in Southern Rhodesia. While it thus passed from the scene as a governing body, its commercial undertakings still remain to it. In addition to its large holding of railway shares, it owns approximately ten million acres of land in Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the mineral rights in both the Rhodesias. It paid no dividends prior to 1924, but built up for itself a very strong position from which great profits may well be expected as and when these territories are still further developed by European enterprise.

The Government could now proceed with its plans, and, on September 12th, 1923—the thirty-third anniversary of the arrival of the ‘Pioneers’ at Salisbury—Southern Rhodesia was formally annexed by Great Britain. The new Colony was granted responsible self-government, with a Governor, appointed by the Crown, an Executive Council, composed of the Governor and six ministers, and a Legislative Assembly. The grant of full Dominion status to a country where all political power is vested in 34,000 white settlers, but which has a native population estimated at 862,000 would, however, have been open to serious questioning. With this in mind, the Buxton Committee suggested that some measure of outside control should be maintained in matters of native policy.

In the Constitution of 1923, therefore, the Crown reserved all the rights it had enjoyed in Company days in respect of the appointment of officials dealing with native affairs, while the native reserves remain under the guarantee of the Imperial Government.*

While the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia were working their way towards the goal of responsible self-government, the territories to the north of the Zambezi River were also making considerable progress, though in a somewhat different direction. Much had indeed happened since Barotseland accepted British suzerainty, and Alfred Sharpe and Joseph Thomson negotiated treaties in the Lake Country (1890).† In the early 'nineties, as may well be imagined, the attention of Rhodes and his associates had been fully occupied in Matabeleland and Mashonaland, and when, in 1891, the territory covered by the treaties made by Sharpe and Thomson was admitted to be within the Company's sphere of operations, an arrangement was come to with the Foreign Office by which these lands should be administered by the Commissioner for Nyasaland,‡ in return for an annual contribution of £10,000 to be paid by the Company for the maintenance of a police force. Events nearer Lake Nyasa, however, absorbed

* This is 'of a stronger type than exists in Kenya. These restrictions upon the Chartered Company in the past may explain the superior position which, from the native standpoint, Rhodesia occupies to-day in comparison with South Africa or Kenya'. *Vide* Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, I, 219.

† *Vide supra*, chap. XII, pp. 232-3.

‡ *Vide infra*, chap. XIV, p. 272.

almost the whole attention of the local administration, and in 1895 the Company made itself directly responsible for the government of North-Eastern Rhodesia. The first problem had been to close the frontier, which ran from the northern end of Lake Nyasa to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, to the Arab slavers who were in the habit of transporting their miserable victims from the fastnesses of Central Africa to the East Coast. Posts had already been established at Abercorn and Fife on the Stevenson road,* which was then a rough clearing connecting the two lakes, and these were now reinforced, with the result that, by 1897, the power of the Arab slavers was broken for ever. Meanwhile, the first white settlement was started in the Angoni territory in the south-eastern corner of the country. The local chieftain had always shown himself hostile to the British and finally broke out into revolt towards the end of 1897. The position of the handful of Europeans in this district was for the moment most critical, but the advent of a small expeditionary force from the Protectorate soon relieved the tension, and by February, 1898, the rebellion was at an end. This short campaign produced a profound impression on the other native tribes, and it was possible, in the next two years, to place the administration on a much sounder basis. A township was laid out at Fort Jameson, roads were built, and by the end of 1899 the African Trans-Continental Telegraph had been constructed north-

* *Vide ib.* p. 268.

wards to Lake Tanganyika. This solid progress was in no small measure responsible for the North-Eastern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1900 which extended the geographical limits of the territory, established the authority of district magistrates in place of the old consular Courts, and authorized the administration to impose a head tax.

In 1897 the Company sent its first Commissioner to Lewanika, chief of Barotseland. In the following year he succeeded, by dint of great patience and tact, in inducing that potentate to grant the Company wider powers of administration in his territories than he had accorded by the treaty of 1890.* For the time being, however, the Home Government insisted on North-Western Rhodesia being administered by the High Commissioner for South Africa, since the frontiers between Barotseland and Portuguese Angola had not yet been definitely decided. The Company, for its part, was permitted to nominate the Administrator and his staff, and to pay the expenses of the administration. The time had come, however, for the establishment of our rule upon a firm basis, and Lewanika's visit to Great Britain in 1902, when he was present at King Edward's coronation, did much to impress upon that enlightened native ruler the potential advantages of the British connection. His friendly attitude was emphasized by his acceptance of the frontier award of 1905,† which was a bitter disappointment to him,

* *Vide supra*, chap. XII, p. 231.

† *Vide ib.* p. 234.

and by his proclamation abolishing slavery throughout his territories in the following year.

In the early years of the present century other changes were taking place in North-Western Rhodesia which were destined to have most important consequences upon the economic life of the eastern portions of the territory. It was discovered that the copper deposits of Katanga continued to Bwana M'Kubwa, on the British side of the frontier, while deposits of lead and zinc were found at Broken Hill. This provided an immediate stimulus to railway construction, and, as we have already seen, the line from Bulawayo had arrived at the Victoria Falls before the end of 1904. In the following year a bridge was built over the Zambezi at this point and the construction of the railway from Livingstone to the North was carried out with amazing rapidity, Kalomo, a distance of 377 miles from Bulawayo, being reached by the end of May, 1905, and Broken Hill, 281 miles further on, within less than a year from that date! After a pause of two or three years construction was taken in hand anew, and, before the end of 1909, contact was established with the Congo railways on the Katanga border. In an incredibly short space of time a railway trunk line had thus been built across a land virtually unknown ten or fifteen years before, and a number of white settlers soon established themselves in its immediate vicinity. In Barotseland proper, however, the rule of the Paramount Chief was preserved intact, though subject to the general super-

vision of white officers, and the native Courts maintained exclusive jurisdiction. Moreover, a portion of the native tax raised by the Company was, and still is, earmarked for the Barotse National Trust, instituted in 1905, which supports a special native school at Mongu. In North-Western Rhodesia, therefore, native institutions are enabled to flourish in the West without being modified unduly by the presence of European mining communities and cotton plantations along the railway in the East.

In 1911 the two territories of North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia were amalgamated under the name of Northern Rhodesia. The administration of the country was never self-supporting, and, under company rule, the total deficit amounted to over a million sterling. The real difficulty in the way of economic development has always been that of transport, for Northern Rhodesia is far removed from the sea and contact with the world market. During the War, however, it was brought for a moment into the troubled waters of world affairs on account of the activities of the forces operating in German East Africa under the command of that remarkable leader, von Lettow-Vorbeck. He was actually engaged in a raid on Kasama when news of the Armistice reached this remote region and he was reluctantly obliged to bow to the inevitable.

Under the settlement of 1923 the British South Africa Company surrendered its claims to government over Northern as well as Southern Rhodesia. It kept

all mineral rights, and continued to hold three valuable freehold properties, with an area of two and three-quarter million acres, in the Tanganyika district. In addition, it retains a half-interest in the proceeds of all sales of land in North-Western Rhodesia for a period of forty years as an offset against its claims in respect of the administrative deficit incurred in previous years. In February, 1924, a new constitution for Northern Rhodesia was established by Orders in Council, with a Governor appointed by the Crown, assisted by an Executive and a Legislative Council. The latter has an official majority, but five unofficial members are elected by the European population. It seems hardly likely that a system of responsible government, on the lines of Southern Rhodesia, would prove feasible in Northern Rhodesia, where the European population amounts to less than five thousand in a country inhabited by over a million natives.

Less than forty years ago the vast territories now comprised within the two Rhodesias had not as yet come within the sphere of European influence. The primitive kingdom of Lobengula exercised some sort of sway over the various Mashona tribes, and savage despotism and blind superstition reigned supreme. To the north of the Zambezi River the activities of Arab and half-caste Portuguese slavers added to the anarchy of native barbarism. During the feverish turmoil of the decade which witnessed the 'Scramble

for Africa', Portugal was advancing claims to the whole area between Angola and Mozambique, and threatened to drive a wedge across the 'Dark Continent' which would have made the northward expansion of British rule for ever impossible.

To-day law and order have been established and a new conception of the value of human life is slowly permeating native society. The peoples of Rhodesia, white and black, can now look forward to an era of peace and prosperity such as the country has never previously experienced. This consummation is due in no small measure to the prophetic insight and restless energy of Cecil Rhodes. Whatever mistakes it may have made, the Chartered Company which he founded has been a great civilizing agency and an important factor in imperial development. One can only hope that the vast claims it now possesses as a commercial undertaking will not prove too heavy a mortgage on the future prosperity of the country.

Chapter XIV

NYASALAND

THE Portuguese were the first pioneers of European penetration on the East Coast, and early in 1498 Vasco da Gama entered the Quelimane River, which is connected with the Zambezi. As the years went by the newcomers gradually displaced the Arabs, who had long been settled in the territories of Mozambique, and, from the sixteenth century down to the present day, the coastline north and south of the mouths of the Zambezi has remained in Portuguese hands. Although Jesuit priests and traders often ventured far afield, the principal line of European advance lay up the great river. The first administrative headquarters were at Sena, on the Lower Zambezi, but enterprising missionaries later established stations at Tete and even so far inland as Zumbo—at the mouth of the Luangwa River. Explorers and adventurers roamed over parts of the hinterland; and in 1798 Dr Lacerda, in an attempt to cross the Continent from East to West, penetrated to within a few miles of Lake Mweru, where he died. There were rumours of great lakes, one of which, in particular, was reputed to be the source of the River Shiré, but no serious attempt was made to confirm them until the arrival of David Livingstone in 1859. This great explorer had already followed the Zambezi from source to mouth on his first journey,

and was now sent out by the British Government on a second expedition of discovery, accompanied by Dr John Kirk as naturalist and medical officer. After ascending the Shiré valley for a few miles these pioneers found themselves in a country hitherto unknown to Europeans. In their northward advance through the Shiré highlands they discovered Lake Chilwa and Lake Pamalombe, and finally set eyes on the great water, Nyasa,* itself, approximately at the point where Fort Johnston now stands, in the middle of September, 1859. They made a stay of several years in these territories, exploring rather more than half the western shore of Lake Nyasa and large tracts of the Shiré highlands. In this latter area they were joined by a number of missionaries sent out by the Universities Mission to Central Africa. This organization had been formed as the result of an appeal made by Livingstone to Cambridge undergraduates after his return from his first great journey. 'I have opened the door', he had said, 'I leave it to you to see that no one closes it.' The situation near Lake Nyasa at that time was not, however, a favourable one. The Yaos were Mohammedans and inveterate slave-raiders, and their depredations upon the local natives seriously interfered with the work of the missionaries. When Livingstone's expedition was recalled by the Govern-

* The southern end of the Lake was then under Yao domination and Livingstone recorded its name as these conquerors pronounced it—Nyasa. The most common form, however, is Nyanja, which is the same as Nyanza, from a Bantu root 'anza, meaning 'broad water'. *Vide Johnston, British Central Africa*, p. 61.

ment in 1863 the position became untenable, and the labours of the Universities Mission were transferred to Zanzibar.

For the time being the Nyasa countries disappeared from the scene of European interest, but Livingstone's death in 1873 acted as an enormous stimulus to fresh missionary activity. In the very next year the Livingstonia Free Church Mission was founded in Scotland, and its first pioneers set out for Lake Nyasa, with a small steamer in sections, choosing Bandawe, on the western shore, as their centre of operations. In 1876 the Church of Scotland Mission established a settlement at Blantyre—so named after Livingstone's birthplace in Scotland—and Nyasaland rapidly became a classic land of Scottish missionary endeavour. These activities called attention to the Slave Trade, which was being actively prosecuted by Arabs from the East Coast, working in conjunction with their Yao co-religionists, and by Zulus who had come from Matabeleland and penetrated into the heart of Central Africa, extending their influence ever wider and preying upon the local natives as they advanced northwards. In 1878 the British consul at Mozambique was authorized to go to Lake Nyasa to report on the situation, and in the same year British influence in this part of the world was reinforced by the formation of a trading undertaking, called the 'African Lakes Company', under the management of the two brothers Moir. It had proved impossible for missionaries to prosecute their chosen calling and to carry on trade at

the same time, though trading and transport facilities were both essential for the success of their work. The new Company was therefore formed by people in active sympathy with the aims of the missions, and its employees were under an obligation to take a share in the saving of souls. The morale of some of these lay missionaries soon deteriorated under the tropical sun, and a number of flagrant cases of brutality and terrorism towards the natives were reported to the British Government. Largely in consequence of this lamentable state of affairs, but also in part owing to the growing expansion of missionary work—for the Universities Mission had returned to the scene of its earlier activities in 1881—the first British Consul was appointed to Nyasaland in 1883 and established his headquarters at Blantyre.

Meanwhile, the London Missionary Society had decided upon the Tanganyika country as a new field for its labours, and, in making its plans, was much helped as a result of a journey from the northern end of Lake Nyasa to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika which was carried out by Joseph Thomson, the explorer, in 1880. Five years later the African Lakes Company succeeded in transporting, by way of Lake Nyasa, a steamer for the new missionary settlements on Tanganyika. This called attention to the possibility of constructing a road connecting the two lakes, an undertaking which was later named after James Stevenson, one of the directors of the Company, who subscribed liberally towards its initial costs.

This northward expansion of its activities brought the little British settlements into open conflict with the Arab slavers who were in the habit of conveying their victims from the Upper Congo to the East Coast by a route cutting across the northern end of Lake Nyasa.* One of their leaders, named Mlozi, had, moreover, succeeded in destroying the Southern Wakonde, the native inhabitants of these regions, and the Lakes Company had to improvise a station at Karonga with a view to limiting the devastations of these alien invaders. Mlozi at once began to prepare for an attack in force on Karonga, but rumours of the fighting on the northern end of Lake Nyasa reached the outside world, and the Lakes Company organized a small force to defend its settlement. This handful of Europeans, assisted by a few native allies, was commanded by Captain Lugard, who had just returned from fighting in Burma, and who now made his first appearance on the African scene in an independent rôle. A definite check was inflicted on the Arabs, but the little British force suffered severely, Captain Lugard himself being seriously wounded during an attack on an Arab stockade. Early in 1889 he returned to England to enlist public sympathy for the establishment of British rule in the Nyasa district. The African Lakes Company had incurred heavy losses and was no longer able to carry on the war

* There had been a marked increase in slaving since 1883, when H.M.S. *London*, the last of the anti-Slave Trade squadron in African waters, was paid out of commission.

single-handed. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the only means of access to the British mission stations was by way of the Portuguese port of Quelimane. In the same year, however, a British explorer named Rankin made a survey of the Zambezi delta and found that the Chinde mouth offered the most direct approach to the river and that the minimum depth of water on its bar at high tide was seventeen feet. This discovery of a waterway into the heart of Central Africa came at a most opportune moment; it removed one of the principal obstacles to British penetration before any delimitation of the British and Portuguese spheres had been effected. It was made, moreover, in the year in which the British South Africa Company received its Charter. The importance of the tropics was at last being realized, and the potentialities of the Zambezi country did not escape the attention of Cecil Rhodes.

In July, 1889, (Sir) Harry Johnston arrived at Mozambique as British Consul. The Portuguese explorer, Major Serpa Pinto, had recently set out in command of a well-equipped expedition on what was clearly a political mission into Central Africa. It should be remembered that, in 1886, Portugal had concluded treaties with both France and Germany in which these Powers recognized her claim to 'the entire region lying between Angola and Mozambique, the whole basin of the Zambezi, Matabeleland, and the districts of Lake Nyasa up to the latitude of the Rovuma River'. Great Britain had protested against

this on the ground that there was no question of Portuguese occupation of these territories and that they included countries in which there were already British settlements. Pinto's mission, therefore, aroused suspicion and Johnston was instructed to make a tour into the hinterland. The British Government had no intention of proclaiming a Protectorate over Nyasaland itself, but was determined to prevent it falling into the hands of the Portuguese.

Sir Harry Johnston proceeded straightway to Blantyre and the mission stations on Lake Nyasa, concluding treaties with native chieftains as far to the North as Lake Tanganyika. In view of the hostilities which had broken out between Major Serpa Pinto and the Makololo rulers of the Lower Shiré,* the acting British Consul at Blantyre, under Johnston's instructions, proclaimed a British Protectorate over the Shiré district in September. Serious danger still existed, however, of a clash between Great Britain and Portugal, and it seemed for a moment as though the local Portuguese military commander would occupy the British missionary settlements in the Shiré highlands. An ultimatum sent by Lord Salisbury in January, 1890, brought the crisis to a head, and, though a settlement was delayed for nearly eighteen months longer, the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891 finally established the spheres of influence of the

* These were descendants of natives who had accompanied Livingstone as servants on his second journey and who had not returned to the Upper Zambezi country. They soon acquired great influence in their new homes.

two countries in East Africa. In the summer of the previous year the 'Heligoland Treaty' had fixed the boundary between the British and German spheres along the Songwe River in the North, and the 'Scramble' for East Africa was virtually over.

As soon as our claims had been recognized by the European Powers more immediately concerned, arrangements were made for bringing these countries under British administration. Sir Harry Johnston was appointed Commissioner and Consul-General, and proceeded to his post without delay. An arrangement was come to between the British Government and the British South Africa Company by which he was also appointed Administrator for the Company's territories north of the Zambezi. The Company provided the sum of £10,000 each year for the maintenance of a police force and pledged itself to meet certain other administrative expenses in addition. This arrangement was continued down to 1895, when the Company made itself directly responsible for the administration of Northern Rhodesia. A small force of Indian troops was soon enrolled for service in Africa and preparations for pacifying the country were pushed forward with vigour. On May 14, 1891, the British Government officially proclaimed a 'British Protectorate over the Nyasaland Districts', though this name was changed, two years later, to the 'British Central Africa Protectorate'. Administrative headquarters were established at Zomba, about forty miles from Blantyre, and fortified posts were constructed at Fort

Johnston and elsewhere to serve as bases for operations against Arab slavers and recalcitrant native chieftains. By 1896, when Sir Harry Johnston's active association with the Protectorate came to an end, the difficult task of pacification was virtually completed. A fighting force of a hundred Sikhs and three hundred Africans, trained and officered by Europeans, had proved itself irresistible. Its chapter of victories culminated in a campaign against the Arabs of the North, late in 1895, which led to the capture and execution of Mlozi, the inveterate slaver. The rapidity and success with which these operations were carried out and the permanence of the new order which they introduced will remain as a lasting memorial to the administrative ability of the first British Commissioner and his subordinates. In addition to their military activities, however, nearly four hundred miles of road were constructed and new steamers were brought on to Lake Nyasa and the Shiré. The number of European inhabitants increased from under sixty to over three hundred, while foreign trade advanced from about £40,000 in 1891 to over £102,000 in 1896. During these years there was also an important re-arrangement of the principal financial interests in the Protectorate. The African Lakes Company, as we have seen, had been practically ruined by its war against the Arabs. Rhodes was prepared to assist by absorbing it in the British South Africa Company, to which it transferred its concessions and treaties in 1893. Its trading business,

however, was taken over by a new company, called the African Lakes Corporation. The result of this transaction was the acquisition by the British South Africa Company of claims to nearly two and three-quarter million acres of land in the northern part of the Protectorate, and a further million acres were acquired from the native chieftains by private planters and other Europeans. In 1892 Sir Harry Johnston undertook a land settlement, and the validity of these and similar claims was carefully examined. Where the grantor had not received adequate consideration, the grantee was called upon to make a second payment. If, however, the Commissioner was satisfied as to the validity of the transaction, 'Certificates of Claim' were granted to the European owner. There was a further stipulation that no existing native villages or plantations should be interfered with, save with the consent of the Government. This settlement seems to have been well enough received at the time by Europeans and natives alike, though it would be idle to pretend that it provided a final solution to the land question.

In the early days the British Central Africa Protectorate was administered under the Foreign Office. This somewhat anomalous arrangement, common enough in the history of our African Dependencies, reflects the manner in which British rule was first introduced. In 1904, however, the country was transferred to the Colonial Office, while an Order in Council, issued in July, 1907, gave it a new constitution.

It was re-christened the 'Nyasaland Protectorate', and has been administered since that date by a Governor, assisted by an Executive and a Legislative Council.

The limiting factor in the development of Nyasaland, as in that of Northern Rhodesia, has been the inadequacy of transport facilities. The principal outlet to the sea in early days was by way of the Shiré and Zambezi Rivers. The volume of water leaving Lake Nyasa appears, however, to have diminished considerably, and the navigability of the Shiré has suffered greatly in consequence. The first railway in the Protectorate was completed in 1908. It connects Blantyre with Port Herald on the Shiré, a distance of 113 miles. Its construction was due in large measure to the active participation of the British Central Africa Company, though the Nyasaland Government aided by making an important land grant to the railway company—which it has since redeemed in cash—and by guaranteeing interest payments for a number of years. The situation on the Lower Shiré, however, was becoming increasingly difficult and a railway, running mainly through Portuguese territory, was opened between Port Herald and Chindio on the Zambezi, a distance of 61 miles, in 1915. On this, too, the Nyasaland Government has important financial obligations to meet, and the same is true of the Trans-Zambezia Railway, connecting Dondo Junction, near Beira, with Muraça, a river port on the Zambezi opposite Chindio. This line, which lies wholly in Portuguese Mozam-

bique, was opened in 1922 and provides railway connection between Blantyre and the port of Beira, though the absence of a bridge over the Zambezi is a most serious hindrance to traffic. The establishment of direct railway communication between Lake Nyasa and the ocean is also essential to the future economic development of the northern portion of the Protectorate.

Prior to the British occupation, the principal exports of Nyasaland consisted of slaves and ivory. Their place was then taken by coffee, grown principally upon the European plantations. The fall in the price of this commodity in the early years of the present century led to the cultivation of tobacco and tea in its place, the former now being the principal export crop of natives and Europeans alike. Cotton is becoming increasingly important, but further development, in this as in other directions, is dependent upon improved transport facilities.

The work of the missionaries has had a marked effect upon native society and the local peoples have shown themselves capable of a remarkable degree of adaptability to new callings and modes of life. At the same time, native administration has come to centre more than ever on village areas, each with its own headman and village councillors. The District Administration (Native) Ordinance of 1924 has, indeed, considerably modified the form of direct rule which seems to have been the settled policy of the Government during the earlier years of the British regime.

Up to the present, Nyasaland has not received from the Home Government the attention it deserves, and Sir Harry Johnston's description of it as the 'Cinderella of the Protectorates' is still very largely true. The country itself, however, has decided possibilities from the economic point of view, and there can be little doubt that its somewhat uneventful history during the last thirty years will be the prelude to still greater progress in a future which cannot now be very far distant.

Chapter XV

ZANZIBAR

IN very early times the sea-coast of North-East Africa appears to have been the scene of a flourishing civilization which was almost certainly recruited from among the peoples of the Middle East. It is not, however, until after the advent of Islam that documentary evidence of contact with Asia begins to come to hand. The first settlements known to history were made in the tenth century by Persians and Arabs. One of the earliest of these Sultanates to rise to fame was Mogadishu, while a son of the King of Shiraz established himself at Kilwa somewhere about the year A.D. 975. During the course of the next two or three centuries other fortified towns came into existence, of which the most important were Kilifi, Malindi and Mombasa. The native name for the last of these is *Mvita*, meaning 'war', an appellation justly merited from what we know of its early history. Indeed, the local chronicles of these coastal cities are full of accounts of wars and rumours of war. First one and then another of the petty Sultans would aspire to leadership, but, in spite of internecine strife, many of the settlements seem to have enjoyed a very real measure of prosperity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of our era. They traded in cloves and pepper and sent negro slaves to the countries of the Persian Gulf. Finds

of Chinese coins, some of which are as early as the eighth century, have been made at Kilwa and Mogadishu and give some idea of the ramifications of commerce during this period. The last recorded visit of a Chinese fleet to East African waters took place in 1430. In spite of these evidences of activity, however, Arab and Persian rule was restricted to the rich coastal plain. Here Islam made many converts, but, a very few miles inland, a wide stretch of scraggy desert prevented the spread of Asiatic influences and condemned the vast hinterland of East Africa to remain in a state of primitive isolation.

These city states were not united politically, either with Arabia or with one another, and were in no posture to offer a determined resistance to the Portuguese, when they first made their appearance in the closing years of the fifteenth century. In 1498 Vasco da Gama was well enough received at Mozambique and at Malindi, but at Mombasa his ship met with an accident which he attributed to the treachery of the local ruler. The assistance of Arab pilots was of the very greatest value to him in crossing the ocean to Calicut, and on his return from India in the following year he touched again at Malindi and took an Ambassador from the Sheikh back with him on a visit to the King of Portugal. In 1500 Cabral led another expedition to these waters and punished the Sultan of Mombasa for his alleged hostility to da Gama by sacking his town. This process was repeated five years later, and within a very short space of time most

of the coastal settlements were brought under Portuguese suzerainty. The new overlords were content to rule through dependent Arab Sultans who paid them tribute. Mombasa, however, maintained some vestige of independence and opened hostilities anew in 1528. Nuno da Cunha thereupon attacked it with Portuguese troops and native allies, drove its inhabitants to the mainland, and burned the city to the ground.

The two centuries of Portuguese dominion were far from being a period of unbroken peace, for, in addition to Arab revolts, the newcomers were faced with competitors from outside who sought to profit from the discontent of the local inhabitants. In 1586, for example, an enterprising Turk named Ali Bey arrived at Mogadishu and announced that a large Turkish fleet was about to make its appearance. He managed to capture a number of Portuguese vessels and induced most of the Arab Sultans to transfer their allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey. At the same time the Zimbas, a warlike tribe of Zulus who had already come into conflict with the Portuguese in the Zambezi valley, advanced northwards and ravaged the mainland of Kilwa and even of Mombasa. Early in 1589, however, a Portuguese expedition under Coutinho arrived on the scene. Profiting by the rivalries of the Turks and the Zimbas, he re-established Portuguese authority over the littoral and once again the town of Mombasa was burned as a punishment for the assistance it had given to the invaders. To prevent similar occurrences in the future, a fort was constructed at Mombasa in

1594. During these years, however, the incorporation of their country by Spain (1580–1640) seriously undermined the morale of the Portuguese and their authority over the East African coastal towns slowly declined. In 1630 Mombasa rose yet again in revolt, and, although the rising was ruthlessly suppressed and a Portuguese Governor was appointed in place of the former Sultan, the inhabitants soon came to look towards Arabia for deliverance from the hated Christian yoke.

Considerable changes had indeed been taking place in the Persian Gulf. The strategic importance of the Oman district had been fully realized by the Portuguese in their struggle for supremacy over the Indian Ocean. The great Albuquerque had taken its ports and garrisoned its towns as early as 1507. A hundred and thirty years later, however, their position there was being seriously challenged and they finally lost the town of Muscat in 1649. The new conqueror was Seyyid (or Prince) Sultan bin Saif, and, as so often happens in the history of Islam, he was a religious as well as a political leader.* His first success against the Christians led him to lend a willing ear to requests of assistance from the Mohammedans of Mombasa and other cities, and in 1660 he sent a fleet to East African waters. War and destruction visited the coastal cities once again, and the dominion of Portugal was obviously nearing its end. Seyyid Sultan's death

* He belonged to a sect which held the heretical doctrine that any pious man could become Imam, or religious head of Islam, even though he were not a descendant of the Prophet.

could not save it, for his son, who had succeeded as Imam of Muscat, captured the fort of Mombasa, after a long siege, in December, 1698. The Portuguese lost all their coastal possessions north of Mozambique, and, although they managed to retake Mombasa some thirty years later, they failed to hold it and were finally driven out for the last time in 1729.

The two hundred years of Portuguese occupation left but little mark on the East African littoral. The ruins of a few of their fortresses still remain, and a certain number of Goanese and their descendants bear witness to the intimate connection between Africa and India which existed in their day and is still so important a factor. Of inland penetration, however, there was none, and in this, at least, the new rulers from Muscat were long to resemble their predecessors. At Mombasa the fort was restored and the Imam maintained a garrison, while the other towns voluntarily submitted to his rule. The local Governors, or *valis*, whom he appointed were, however, far removed from his direct control and soon began to assert themselves more and more. In Oman itself a period of anarchy had set in, and some of the Governors in Africa profited by this to declare themselves independent in 1740. For more than forty years rival *valis* fought for supremacy in much the same way as local Arab Sultans had done before the advent of the Portuguese. Meanwhile, however, the Bu Saidi family had established themselves in Muscat and were slowly making their position secure. In 1785 the Imam

was actually strong enough to re-assert his authority for a brief space over the African coastal towns, but it was not until the days of Seyyid Said bin Sultan, who became joint ruler of Oman in 1804, that the dominion of Muscat began to become a reality, after a century of anarchy and uncertainty.

Fearful lest the extension of the power and authority of his nominal suzerain should become a reality, the ruler of Mombasa invited a British naval officer to declare a British Protectorate over his territories in 1823. The matter was referred to higher authorities, but when Captain Owen, who was in command of a hydrographic survey of the coast, arrived off Mombasa a little later he found the British flag flying over the town and an Arab fleet blockading the port. He proceeded to make a treaty with the local 'rebels', without coming into conflict with the Arab invaders, but his action was not endorsed by the Home Government and the brief interlude of this first British connection with the coast came to an end in 1826. Two years later Said bin Sultan arrived in person with a fleet from Muscat and took possession of Mombasa, though several years were to elapse before accounts with its former rulers (the Mazaru'i) were finally settled in his favour. Before this had happened, indeed, Said himself decided upon a course of action which entirely altered the balance of forces in East Africa. In 1832 he transferred his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar.

The island on which the new headquarters of Arab

rule were established had not played a very prominent rôle in the earlier history of the East Coast. It had been conquered by the Portuguese early in the sixteenth century and its Sultan long remained friendly to the newcomers. Its development is, however, of much more recent date, for when Seyyid Said chose the town as his residence, it is said to have consisted only of a row of huts.* Its very insignificance was an additional attraction, for the new ruler thus had nothing to fear from the rivalries of his predecessors, while its central position marked it out as a natural capital for the scattered coastal settlements. Within a very few years Said had established his authority over these cities from Mogadishu in the North to Cape Delgado in the South, and traders, both Indian and European, soon began to flock into his dominions.

British rule in India and our active interest in the abolition of the Slave Trade were the two dominant considerations in our relations with both Oman and East Africa. These territories were now united once again under a common sovereign and the ruler of Muscat resided at Zanzibar. The East India Company had made a treaty with Said's father as early as 1798, and Said himself owed not a little of his success in East Africa to our active assistance. The traditional friendship of Zanzibar for the British, which was later to be so characteristic a feature, has thus its origin in the very beginnings of the modern period of Arab

* Sir Charles Eliot, *The East Africa Protectorate*, p. 21.

rule. The first of the Western Powers with which Said negotiated a commercial treaty was, however, the United States (1833). American whalers used Zanzibar as a port of call in their long journeys to the East and did a considerable trade in many commodities—not excluding slaves—in addition. This may have induced the British Government to look to its laurels; in any case Seyyid Said concluded a commercial treaty with this country in 1839 and the first British Consul was appointed to Zanzibar two years later. From this time onwards every effort was made to enlist his active co-operation in the abolition of the Slave Trade, a singularly difficult task, since the revenues of Zanzibar were dependent in no small measure upon duties levied on this inhuman traffic. In 1845, however, Said was induced to conclude a treaty with Great Britain in which the export of slaves from his African dominions and the import of slaves into Oman were both prohibited. While this agreement did not cover the trade between the mainland and Zanzibar, British vessels acquired the all-important right of visit and search.

Down to the time of his death in 1856 Said remained ruler of both Muscat and Zanzibar, but the arrangement was in many ways unsatisfactory. The two portions of his dominions offered many different problems to their common sovereign, and the distance which separated them made it most difficult for him to deal with these adequately. Said therefore directed that his Asiatic possessions should pass to his eldest surviving son, Thuwainy, while a younger son, Majid,

was to receive Zanzibar and the African littoral. The latter was the richer and in many ways the more desirable portion, and the elder brother put forward a claim to the whole inheritance. But for the vigilance of British cruisers he would almost certainly have invaded Zanzibar and established his case by force. The tension was fortunately overcome by both princes agreeing to accept the arbitration of the Governor-General of India. By an award given in 1861, Lord Canning upheld the validity of the division of the territories but ordered the ruler of Zanzibar to make his kinsman of Muscat an annual payment by way of compensation.* This solution was accepted by both parties, and from 1861 to 1890 Zanzibar was a fully independent State. In the year following the Canning Award its independence was solemnly recognized in a Declaration signed by both France and Great Britain. The whole episode, however, affords an interesting example of the extent of British influence in East Africa at this time, and this was soon to be developed still further under the influence of Dr John Kirk, who had been Livingstone's companion on his second journey and became surgeon to the Political Agency at Zanzibar in 1866. He acquired a remarkable ascendancy over Seyyid Barghash bin Said, who succeeded after his brother's death in 1870, and was

* The sum of forty thousand crowns (£8500) was paid regularly by Majid for a time, but payment was then discontinued. In 1873 the ruler of Muscat accepted an anti-Slave Trade treaty and was rewarded by receiving the subsidy from the British Political Agent at his capital. It thus ceased to be a charge on Zanzibar.

given the rank of Consul-General in 1873. It was most fortunate that Great Britain was represented on the spot by a man of such great insight and ability during the difficult years which followed.

The East African littoral was slowly coming to the fore. British interests were stimulated by the immigration of large numbers of Indians, who acquired a virtual monopoly of trade. These, whether Hindus or Mohammedans, were known locally as 'Banians' and served as intermediaries between the European merchants and the natives. They were not only traders but small capitalists and money-lenders as well, and many of the Arab landed estates became heavily mortgaged to them. They were also largely instrumental in financing the activities of Arab and Beluch traders in their long journeys into the interior. This form of inland penetration under 'native' auspices was a characteristic feature of the first seventy years or so of the nineteenth century. Men like Ahmet bin Ibrahim, who was one of the most prominent of these pioneers and probably one of the first to journey from the coast to the kingdom of Uganda, were the precursors of European exploration. Their expeditions, however, not only brought large supplies of ivory to the seaboard but also gave a new impetus to the Slave Trade. They penetrated far and wide and, as we have seen in previous chapters, their depredations were a source of no little trouble to the first British administrators in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia as late as the middle 'nineties. Another result of their

activities was the spread of the Swahili language, an amalgam of Bantu and Arabic roots which had developed in the coastal regions under Arab domination and rapidly became the *lingua franca* over vast areas of East Africa.

A further feature in the situation which was also calculated to stimulate British interest in the territories subject to the Sultan* of Zanzibar was the advent of other Europeans. In 1844 the first German commercial firm was established, and fifteen years later the Sultan concluded a commercial treaty with the Hanse Towns. In addition to the traders there were also numbers of German missionaries, and in 1875, four years after the creation of a united German Empire, Vice-Admiral Livonius proposed that Zanzibar should be placed under the protection of the Fatherland. Bismarck had not, however, as yet been won over to the idea of colonial expansion and nothing was done for the time being.

In the early 'seventies Dr John Kirk was actively engaged in preparing the way for the total abolition of the Slave Trade. So long as slaves could legally be shipped from the mainland it was a matter of the greatest difficulty for the British naval squadron to prevent their being taken to destinations other than Zanzibar. In 1873 Sir Bartle Frere was therefore sent on a mission to East Africa to endeavour to persuade

* The proper title of this potentate is Seyyid, or 'Lord'. The word 'Sultan' was originally a personal name of one of the rulers of Oman which was mistaken by the English for a title and used as such ever since.

Sultan Barghash to prohibit all ocean-borne traffic in slaves. This proposal was a most distasteful one to the Sultan, since its enforcement would entail a considerable loss of revenue, while the *valis*, who were a very important factor in his dominions, were strongly opposed to any such policy. The influence of Dr Kirk, combined with a threat of naval action in the event of his refusal, finally had the desired effect and a treaty was concluded prohibiting the export of all slaves from the mainland and closing the slave markets. Three years later, in 1876, the persuasive powers of the British Consul-General led Barghash, who was in many ways an enlightened ruler, to prohibit the Slave Trade by land as well as by sea, and soon afterwards an armed force was organized under an English officer to enforce respect for this law. The whole traffic was thus declared illegal, though many years were to elapse before it was finally suppressed, while the legal status of slavery was not abolished until 1897.

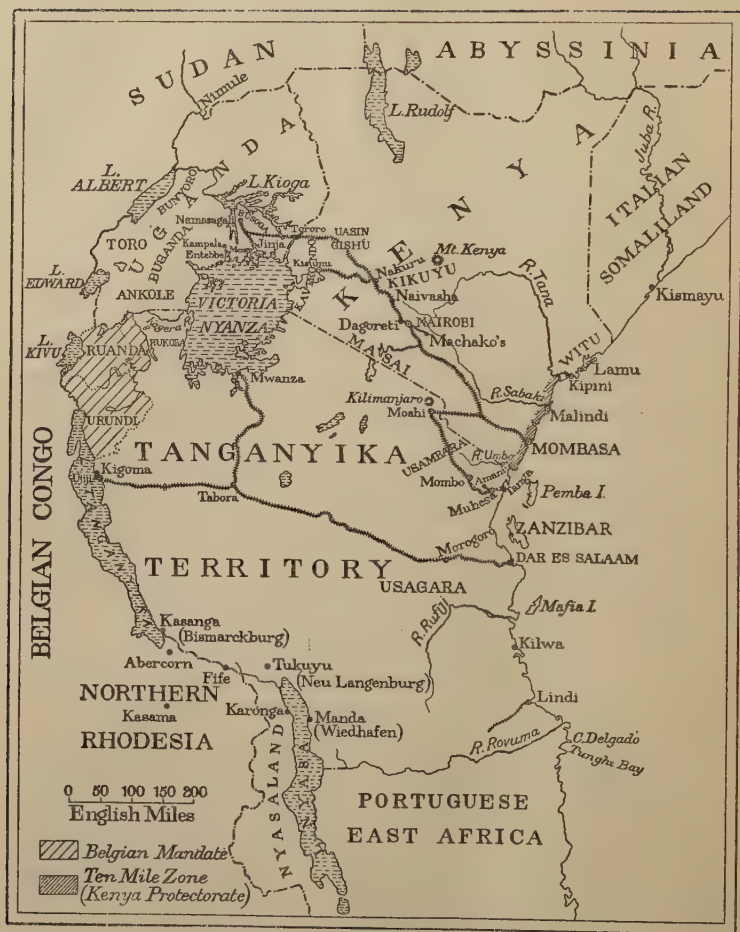
Considerable changes had taken place meanwhile in the economic life of Zanzibar. The great Seyyid Said had been the first to introduce the cultivation of cloves and had encouraged the new industry by every means in his power. A hurricane, which swept over the islands in 1872, caused a temporary setback, but reconstruction was taken in hand energetically and clove trees soon came more and more to take the place of the coconut. Growing prosperity brought the East African islands still further into contact with the outside world, and in 1872 Sir William Mackinnon,

of the British India Steam Navigation Company, established a regular steamship service between Zanzibar and Aden, and thus brought the East Coast into direct connection with Europe* and India. As though in anticipation of complications with Foreign Powers, Barghash a little later offered Mackinnon a seventy years' lease of the customs and administration of all his dominions, with certain reservations as to his own sovereign rights over the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. As the Foreign Office refused its support to the proposal, Mackinnon was compelled to decline. Had this offer been accepted the whole country lying between Lake Nyasa in the South and Lake Rudolf in the North would have come within the British sphere in 1877 instead of in 1918. The opportunity was, however, allowed to pass by and Germany made her appearance as a most serious rival on the East African stage in the early 'eighties. The first sign of interest on the part of the Imperial Government was the arrival of its new Consul Rohlfs at Zanzibar on a German warship in 1884. The British Government, while asking nothing for itself, was anxious that no other Power should advance claims to East Africa, and made enquiries at Berlin as to Bismarck's intentions. He replied that Germany had no desire to proclaim a Protectorate over any of the Sultan's dominions, but his fair words were soon to be belied by events. Before the end of the year Dr Karl Peters, an explorer in the service of the 'Society for German Colonization'

* The Suez Canal had been opened in 1869.

which he himself had founded, was busy negotiating treaties with the native chieftains of the Usagara district, up-country from Dar-es-Salaam, and acquired claims, for what they were worth, over a tract of some sixty thousand square miles of territory. On his return to Berlin he founded the German East Africa Company to take over these concessions and succeeded in obtaining for it the German equivalent of a Charter (*Schutzbrief*) from the Emperor in February, 1885. Sultan Barghash at once protested against this incursion into what he regarded as part of his own dominions, but all in vain. In August the German arguments were reinforced by the arrival of a naval squadron off Zanzibar, and Barghash had perforce to recognize German claims both to the Dar-es-Salaam hinterland and to a Protectorate over the Witu coast.

This first act in the 'Scramble' for East Africa raised the important question of the extent of the territories subject to Zanzibar. Barghash himself advanced claims to the whole hinterland up to the Great Lakes, but these were of the shadowiest kind, and could not be supported by any pretence at 'effective occupation'. To avoid all possibility of international complications, Great Britain, Germany and France set up a Commission to define the limits of Barghash's jurisdiction and pledged themselves to accept its findings. The Report of this Commission formed the basis of an Anglo-German Agreement, concluded in November, 1886, and afterwards accepted by Barghash himself and by France. The sovereignty



Sketch Map of British East Africa.

of the Sultan was recognized over Zanzibar, Pemba, Lamu, Mafia and a number of smaller islands, and, on the mainland, over a coastal strip ten miles wide, running from Tunghi Bay in the South, to Kipini, at the mouth of the Tana River, together with Kismayu, Mogadishu and one or two other points still further to the North. Germany also undertook to adhere to the Anglo-French Declaration of 1862, which respected the independence of the Sultan's dominions. As between the two signatories, however, the hinterland of this coastal strip between the Rovuma and the Tana Rivers was divided into two by a line running from the mouth of the River Uмба, skirting the north of Kilimanjaro, and so direct to the eastern shore of Victoria Nyanza at the point where it is intersected by the first parallel of south latitude. To the North lay the British 'sphere of influence', as it was officially called; to the South, the German, and each Power pledged itself not to interfere in any way with the activities of the other across this line.

The status and extent of his territories having now been defined, the Sultan proceeded to negotiate with the British East Africa Association, of which the moving spirit was Sir William Mackinnon, with a view to granting a lease of the northern part of his mainland territories. In May, 1887, he gave them a concession for fifty years over the coastal belt lying between the River Uмба and Kipini, in return for an annual payment equal to the customs duties he was then receiving from that part of his dominions. He died early in the

following year, but in April his brother Khalifa, who succeeded him, granted a concession of the mainland territories south of the River Umba to the German East Africa Company on very similar terms. The Sultan was now left with the direct administration over Zanzibar and Pemba; from his other dominions he preferred to draw a safe annual income from British and German concessionaries. Sir William Mackinnon, for his part, realized the need for prompt and effective measures to safeguard our interests in the British sphere, and he and a number of his friends formed the Imperial British East Africa Company to take over the Sultan's concession of 1887; to obtain a Charter of Incorporation; to acquire territory from native chieftains within the British sphere of influence recognized by Germany in 1886; and to set up an administration in all the conceded territories. It was, moreover, understood that 'the hearty co-operation and support of H.M. Government should be accorded' to the undertaking. On these conditions a Charter was granted in September, 1888, and the Imperial British East Africa Company took up the defence of British interests in the race for the hinterland.* It arrived none too soon, and when the two competitors—Great Britain and Germany—came to an amicable arrangement of their respective claims in 1890, the line from the Umba River to Victoria Nyanza, decided upon four years previously, was

* Some account of this will be found in chap. xvi, 'Kenya and Uganda', and chap. xvii, 'Tanganyika', *infra*.

prolonged along the first parallel of south latitude across the lake and, with slight modifications, on to the Congo frontier. Uganda thus remained within the British sphere. Another article of the Anglo-German Agreement signed at Berlin on July 1st, 1890 (the so-called 'Heligoland Treaty'), more directly concerned the territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Germany accepted British jurisdiction over all the country north of the Umba River—and thus withdrew her own claims to the coastline between Witu and Kismayu. She also agreed to recognize a British Protectorate over Zanzibar itself. We, for our part, undertook to use all our influence to induce the Sultan to cede outright to Germany all his mainland possessions south of the Umba River, it being understood that he would receive an 'equitable indemnity' in return. Before the end of the year the Sultan had sold this territory to Germany for four million marks (£200,000), and had 'freely and unreservedly' accepted British protection. The formal proclamation of our Protectorate over Zanzibar itself on November 4th, 1890, marks the end of the old order.* Shorn of his mainland possessions,† the Sultan had now become a dependent

* As both France and Great Britain had undertaken to respect the independence of Zanzibar in 1862, the consent of the former was now necessary. France agreed to acquiesce in a British Protectorate over Zanzibar in return for our recognizing her Protectorate over Madagascar.

† The ten mile strip along the Kenya coast (now called the 'Kenya Protectorate' in contradistinction to 'Kenya Colony') is still, however, nominally a part of the dominions of Zanzibar, and is administered on lines of its own.

ruler even in his own capital, though his throne was, and still is, guaranteed by the British Government. The islands have prospered exceedingly during the last thirty years, and Zanzibar and Pemba now produce between them about nine-tenths of the world's supply of cloves. Much has changed since the days of Seyyid Said, though in advocating the British connection and in introducing the staple industry, the founder of modern Zanzibar showed almost prophetic insight.

After the proclamation of the Protectorate, the first task was to organize a regular administration. In 1891 Government departments were set up under British officials, and Sir Gerald Portal was appointed as H.M. Agent and Consul-General, responsible to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, while another Englishman became First Minister to the Sultan. The one serious challenge to peaceful development came five years later, when three claimants appeared for the vacant Sultanate. One of them, named Seyyid Khaled, attempted to secure his succession by seizing the palace. This led, in turn, to its bombardment by British warships and the death of several hundred Arabs. From that time to this, however, nothing has happened to disturb the even tenour of our relations with the local inhabitants, though, as the years have gone by, British control over the local administration has been gradually extended. In 1906 the Government was re-organized in this sense, and in 1913 the administration of the Protectorate was transferred from the Foreign to the Colonial Office. Henceforward

a single British Resident represented the Home Government and acted as Vice-President of the newly established Protectorate Council. This body was presided over by His Highness the Sultan in person, and all legislative and executive acts were performed in his name. From 1913 to 1925 the Resident was himself responsible to a High Commissioner for Zanzibar, who was at the same time Governor of British East Africa (Kenya). This system of dual control proved unsatisfactory and cumbersome, and was abolished in the latter year. The Resident is now the direct representative of the Colonial Office, and all decrees must be countersigned by him. In spite of these measures of control, however, every effort has been made to support the authority and maintain the prestige of the Sultan, and it was he who enacted the Zanzibar Councils Decree in 1926. There is now an Executive Council, presided over by His Highness the Sultan, and a Legislative Council, presided over by the British Resident. The British policy has been to maintain the framework of Arab rule, making such modifications as prove necessary to ensure its smooth working, while, of recent years, district Courts have been set up comprising Arab presidents, native headmen, and prominent Arab and Indian members. This system, as a whole, is, in a sense, a relic of former days: in another sense it is the natural outcome of an historical evolution which began in the dawn of history, British rule bringing peace and stability as its contribution to this amalgam of African, Arab and Indian civilizations.

Chapter XVI

UGANDA AND KENYA

BETWEEN the rich coastal belt of East Africa and the region of the Great Lakes lie hundreds of miles of country much of which is inhospitable and difficult of access. While the movements of native tribes in the interior have been principally North and South, in the more or less immediate proximity of the Great Rift Valley, Arab and European penetration has, of necessity, been from East to West, from the coast inland. The existence of these wide tracts of jungle and semi-desert helps to explain the late period at which the East African hinterland became known to the peoples of the littoral. Arabs, as we have seen, had been active on the coast since the tenth century, if not earlier, but it was not until the first half of the nineteenth century that they began to trade far and wide in the interior. The route usually followed lay across what is now the Tanganyika Territory, and Tabora became an important trading depot. By the middle of the last century the Arabs had a fairly good general idea of the geography of the country of the Great Lakes, and their reports were of the greatest help to the first European explorers, who frequently followed their principal trade routes from the coast. In the late 'forties, moreover, two Germans, Krapf and Rebmann, who had been sent out by the Church Missionary Society, worked

inland from Mombasa and sighted Kilimanjaro and Mount Kenya, the former being the highest peak in Africa. Rumours of mighty lakes and mountains fired the imagination of enthusiasts and raised doubts among the incredulous until, in 1856, the Royal Geographical Society sent out an expedition under Richard Burton to verify these reports. Setting off from Zanzibar, he discovered Lake Tanganyika, while his lieutenant, John Hanning Speke, pushed on northwards and reached the southern end of Victoria Nyanza on July 30th, 1858. Two years later Speke was sent out again, taking J. A. Grant with him as his companion, to ascertain, once and for all, whether this lake was really the source of the Nile, as he had alleged. The route they followed was also that from the mainland opposite Zanzibar, thence across the Tanganyika territory and so into the Kingdom of Buganda, which they reached early in 1862. The journey was tedious in the extreme. They were forced to submit to endless petty annoyances on the part of the natives through whose territories they marched, while many of the Arab traders, resenting this intrusion into their cherished preserves, did everything they could to put obstacles in their way. In the lands now included in the Uganda Protectorate they found a number of native States, of which the two strongest and most civilized were Buganda* and Bunyoro, between Victoria Nyanza and Lake Albert. Both

* The prefix *Bu-* corresponds with the Swahili *U-* and denotes a country. The prefix *Lu-* denotes the language (Luganda), and *Ba-* the people (Baganda).

these territories were inhabited by Bantus, though the Bahima, who appear to have come from the North-East at an early date, introduced a considerable admixture of Hamitic blood. The resultant amalgam, more particularly in Buganda, produced a nation with considerable capacity for rule, and Speke, the first European to visit their country, was profoundly impressed by the degree of political organization to which they had attained. At the head of the State was the Kabaka, or King, who at this time was named Mutesa. His country was divided into a number of territories, each under a great chief, while the central government was carried on through the Katikiro, or Prime Minister, who was himself a non-territorial chief. Under the leadership of a number of vigorous rulers the power of the Baganda had spread far and wide. The adjoining Kingdom of Bunyoro, however, had a much less developed political organization than its neighbour. Its Mkama, or King, was far from helpful to Speke or, for that matter, to (Sir) Samuel Baker, who, after meeting Speke at Gondokoro early in 1864, had left him to pursue his northward journey and had himself advanced through Bunyoro and discovered Lake Albert. The Banyoro resented European penetration, and Kabarega, who became Mkama shortly after, long continued to cause the greatest annoyance to the British. When Baker became Governor of the Southern Sudan,* he led an expedition into this

* *Vide infra*, chap. XIX, especially p. 356 sq., for early events in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

border country in 1872 and endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to bring it under his influence. His successor, General Gordon, was determined to annex both Bunyoro and Buganda, but financial disorder and the advent of the Mahdi soon put an end to all idea of European conquest from the North.

Meanwhile, however, Stanley had paid a visit to Mutesa's Court in 1875 and, like Speke before him, had been much impressed by the intelligence and natural ability of the Baganda. He at once sent a letter to England, appealing for an industrial and medical mission, above both sect and nationality, to be sent out to work in this most promising field. The response was enthusiastic and immediate. The first English missionaries actually arrived in June, 1877, and were well received by Mutesa. They were followed, two years later, by a party of French Roman Catholic Fathers, and, unfortunately, a most unedifying spirit of rivalry between the two principal churches of Western Christendom and their respective native followers made itself felt almost from the outset. Since Speke's day, moreover, Mohammedan missionaries had come into Buganda from the North and, in the medley of conflicting testimony, Mutesa himself was entirely uncertain as to which religion he should adopt. Stanley had attempted to convert him to Christianity, with apparent success, but, though he regularly wore Arab dress and was nominally a Moslem, he actually died a pagan, as his fathers had done before him. This last of the great independent rulers

of Buganda was described by Stanley as the 'foremost man in Africa'. Emin Pasha, who visited the country in 1876, was not so impressed by him, and his vanity and peevishness must be set against his undoubted shrewdness and restless energy.

In 1884 Mwanga, a young man of eighteen, was elected Kabaka in succession to Mutesa. He was a weak man, vicious and depraved, and offered a very marked contrast to his father. While entirely unable to govern himself or dispense justice with an even hand, he seems to have been obsessed with the idea that the white man was coming to dispossess him. His suspicions were intensified by what he had heard of Gordon's conquests in the North, and European activities on the coast gave new prominence to an old belief that Buganda would ultimately be conquered by invaders from the East. This led him to close the direct route from Mombasa, which lay through Busoga. When Bishop Hannington, of the Church Missionary Society, came this forbidden way, in ignorance of the royal prohibition, he was done to death, by Mwanga's express orders, in October, 1885. The position of the missionaries in Buganda had now become very precarious, and within a very few months their many converts were called upon to face torture and death in a cause they had hardly had time to learn to understand. Mwanga treated his country as though it were occupied territory, and a Russian traveller, who visited Buganda at the time, protested loudly against this welter of blood. But the tyrant

was cowardly and timid, and suspected all and sundry, not excepting his newly found friends of the Mohammedan faction. In 1888, indeed, he seems to have decided upon exterminating all the new religions and enforcing a return to paganism, though, at this juncture, his intended victims united and drove him from his throne. There followed a brief interlude of Moslem domination, but many of the tenets of the Prophet, and circumcision in particular, were most unpalatable to the Baganda. In 1889 the native Christians, who had taken refuge in Ankole, temporarily adjusted their own differences, which even exile had failed to obliterate, and united to drive out the Moslems. With the aid of Stokes, an Englishman actively engaged in a profitable, if illicit, trade in arms, they captured the capital, Mengo, and, though entirely against the advice of the English missionaries, restored Mwanga to the throne. The territorial chieftainships were divided equally between Protestants and Catholics, and the Mohammedans were forced into exile in Bunyoro.

While these bitter faction fights were proceeding in the hinterland, British influence had been slowly advancing inland from the coast. The Imperial British East Africa Company received its Charter of Incorporation in September, 1888. Its situation at the outset was one of extreme difficulty, on account of indiscretions committed in the previous month by representatives of the German East Africa Company when taking over the territories ceded to them by the

Sultan of Zanzibar. The revolt against the Germans threatened to develop into a movement against all Europeans, and an Anglo-German blockade of the whole coastline was instituted in order 'to cut off the importation of munitions of war...and to put a stop to the exportation of slaves'. A further complication arose from the presence of a large number of runaway slaves whom the missionaries, who had received and sheltered them, resolutely declined to surrender to their Arab masters. This was finally settled by the payment of compensation by the Company to the owners who, in their turn, granted certificates of freedom to their former slaves. Perhaps the most serious source of difficulty, however, lay in the attitude adopted by the Germans on all boundary questions, and, above all, in the menace to British interests represented by their restless energy in extending their influence ever further into the hinterland. The Anglo-German Convention of 1886, as we have seen, fixed the line dividing the British and the German spheres as far as the eastern shore of Victoria Nyanza, and no further. Control over the territories now comprised within the Protectorate of Uganda was left an open question. It was realized at once that the whole future of the coastal territories would depend, in the long run, upon trade with the interior, and from this point of view the prosperous native kingdom of Buganda, lying astride the headwaters of the Nile, occupied a key position. In July, 1888, the British Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar sent a letter to Mwanga

through the intermediary of Stokes, while the Sultan of Zanzibar also sent an envoy recommending English traders to the Kabaka and assuring him of their friendly intentions. The outbreak of civil war in Buganda brought these first overtures to naught, but the British East Africa Company was fully alive to the need of opening up trade routes and despatched (Sir) Frederick Jackson on a well-equipped expedition into the interior early in 1889. The troubled state of the country, combined with its own limited financial resources, made the Company unwilling to assume indefinite responsibilities in Buganda, which Jackson was instructed not to visit. On his arrival in Kavirondo, however, he learned that Mwanga had been restored, though his position was still a precarious one, and received a letter from him asking for his help. Jackson thereupon sent Mwanga a flag and told him that, by accepting it, he would place himself under the protection of the Company and be entitled to look to it for assistance. These conditions proved acceptable and henceforward Buganda might fairly be claimed as falling within the British sphere. An understanding of this rather vague type does not, however, provide an adequate guarantee against the ambitions of a powerful rival, and a German armed force, under Karl Peters, which had worked its way up from Witu, made its appearance in Mwanga's dominions within a very few weeks of his acceptance of the Company's flag from Jackson. The situation was thus most critical and became still more so when it was

known that Emin Pasha, who had recently been rescued by H. M. Stanley, was about to set out with a force of eight hundred Sudanese troops to establish German influence throughout the country lying between Victoria Nyanza and the Congo Free State. At this juncture Captain Lugard, who had just joined the Company's service and was engaged in opening up a road into the interior by way of the Sabaki River, was told to proceed to Uganda with the least possible delay. British influence at Mwanga's Court was being seriously undermined by the French Catholic missionaries, who were working under instructions from Cardinal Lavigerie,* and had succeeded in winning over Mwanga to their faction. The Mohammedan exiles in Bunyoro were preparing to invade Buganda, and the rôle of the Company's representative, Ernest Gedge, whom Jackson had decided to leave in the country after hearing of the machinations and over hasty departure of Karl Peters, was by no means an enviable one. Meanwhile, however, the rival claims of Great Britain and Germany were amicably settled by the 'Heligoland' Treaty of July 1st, 1890, which

* The precise aims of this violent anti-British movement are difficult to establish with any certainty. At the Brussels Conference, Cardinal Lavigerie endeavoured to persuade the Powers to place Uganda outside the sphere of influence of Great Britain or any other European Power. It was widely believed at the time that he was in favour of a German Protectorate, in return for important concessions to the Catholic missions, but it is not impossible that the real aim was the somewhat fantastic ideal of a native state system under the authority of the Vatican. *Vide* Mgr Baunard, *Le Cardinal Lavigerie*, II, 74. (I have to thank Professor Buell for this reference.)

secured Uganda to the British sphere and removed the possibility of international complications on the shores of Victoria Nyanza.

Captain Lugard arrived with a small force at Mwanga's capital at Mengo in the following December and established British headquarters near by at Kampala. The state of tension between the religious factions was acute and would almost certainly have led to the outbreak of civil war if Lugard had not prevented Stokes from importing firearms. As it was, the Catholic party, or *Wa Fransa* (Frenchmen), as they called themselves, were only with difficulty induced to sign a treaty recognizing the international situation and granting the British the right of intervention to suppress abuses in Buganda, while the Protestant faction, or *Wa Ingleza* (Englishmen), were most disappointed at not being allowed to lord it over their rivals. It must unfortunately be added that, with but few exceptions, neither the missionaries nor their converts were prepared to co-operate in the restoration of order, though, in April, 1891, Catholics and Protestants combined, under the Company's representative, to drive out the Mohammedans, who had begun to invade Buganda from Bunyoro. The troubled state of the country compelled Lugard to establish a central fighting force under British control. With this end in view, he went to Kavalli and enlisted the remnants of the Sudanese troops under Selim Bey, which had been left there by Emin Pasha after his evacuation of the Equatorial Pro-

vince.* He had previously been reinforced by the arrival from the coast of Captain Williams, with a Maxim gun, and Kampala had been put into a posture of defence. The test was indeed at hand, for in January, 1892, a member of the 'English' faction was murdered, and Mwanga, who by now had sided openly with the other party, refused to see justice done. Encouraged by this sign of royal support, the *Wa Fransa* opened an attack on Kampala. The British and Sudanese garrison was, fortunately, prepared for them and they were driven off with heavy losses. Mwanga was now a fugitive in the islands and little more than a prisoner in the hands of the Catholic faction. Lugard succeeded, though not without considerable difficulty, in saving the French Fathers from the fury of the victorious Protestants, and was rewarded for his good offices by a campaign of calumny and abuse in Europe in which the Catholic missionaries themselves took no small share. The principal task for the moment, however, was the restoration of the Kabaka. An organized native society without a King is an unthinkable anomaly to the tribal mind, and Mwanga, in spite of all his faults, was thoroughly versed in the native land laws, and under proper supervision might well prove of inestimable value to the British administration. In March he managed to escape from his 'friends' and returned to Mengo. A new treaty was drawn up and signed, Lugard insisting that both Catholics and Protestants should

* *Vide infra*, chap. xix, p. 366.

have a fair proportion of the chieftainships. In the face of determined opposition from all parties he even succeeded in allotting three minor provinces to the Mohammedans—who had no influential friends to plead their cause in Europe—and his negotiations put an end to Moslem aspirations to supremacy.

These operations had naturally entailed considerable expense without any hope or prospect of an immediate return. The Company therefore felt itself obliged, albeit with the greatest reluctance, to order the withdrawal of its forces from Uganda, to take effect, after a temporary postponement which was due in no small measure to a subscription received from the Church Missionary Society, as from the end of 1892.* This decision would have meant leaving the country to relapse into anarchy at the very moment when, for the first time in its history, a settlement had been arrived at offering a fair promise of permanence. In the event of withdrawal the position of the whites would have been desperate, while the natives, to whom we had given the most solemn guarantees, would have been powerless to defend themselves against the Sudanese, once their white officers had left them. Threatened with the complete overthrow of all he and his gallant associates had accomplished, Lugard determined to return home, leaving Captain Williams in command at Kampala. On his arrival in England he pleaded the cause of Uganda with the directors of

* The administration of Uganda cost the Company nearly £40,000 a year.

the Company and travelled up and down the country in an appeal to the bar of public opinion. The Liberal Government, with the solitary exception of Lord Rosebery, was either apathetic or openly hostile, but the missionary societies joined in the fray and the question of Uganda provoked a serious Cabinet crisis. The outcome of it all was that the Government, in December, 1892, announced that Sir Gerald Portal, the Consul-General at Zanzibar, would proceed on a mission to Uganda to report on the situation there, while a temporary subsidy would be granted to the Company to enable it to carry on the administration in the meanwhile.

During this brief interim Captain Williams had worked wonders and had succeeded in preventing any fresh outbreak of civil war. The recalcitrance of the missionaries remained, however, as a source of the greatest difficulty, and the religious factions might advance exaggerated political claims at any moment. This fact was also to cause no little inconvenience to Portal, who arrived at Kampala in March, 1893, and hoisted the Union Jack in place of the Company's flag. Signs of discontent amongst the Moslem population, in which they were supported by Selim Bey,* led, soon after Portal's departure, to the disarmament of the Sudanese troops at Kampala and elsewhere, and to the withdrawal of the Sudanese garrisons from Southern

* This rather significant fact would suggest that the susceptibilities of the Sudanese had not been treated with due regard; in a word, that 'someone had blundered'.

Bunyoro. Before the end of the year Colonel Colvile, the first Commissioner of the British Government, arrived in Buganda and proceeded to establish our authority over Bunyoro. Within six months Kabarega, who had always been an inveterate enemy of the British, was expelled and his armies thoroughly defeated in the field. The time was now ripe for regularizing the situation, and a British Protectorate was formally proclaimed over the kingdom of Buganda in June, 1894. This was extended to Bunyoro and Busoga two years later, and the Uganda Protectorate took its rightful place as one of the most important of the British Dependencies in Tropical Africa.

Between Uganda and the coast is a wide stretch of difficult country over much of which the Masai, a Hamitic tribe of nomad pastoralists, maintained a reign of terror. In the forest area the Kikuyu, an agricultural people, had made large clearings and took every precaution to defend themselves against their more warlike neighbours. In the main, however, these vast tracts of land were but sparsely populated and represented an obstacle rather than an inducement to inland penetration. The difficulties of transport between Mombasa and the Lakes caused endless trouble to the British East Africa Company. It had already established a number of posts, the most important being those at Machako's and Dagoreti, along the principal trade route to the interior, when, in 1891, it sent out a survey party to report on the best route and probable cost of construction of a railway.

It also endeavoured to interest the Government in the undertaking as it was not itself in a strong enough position to finance such a project. Even its withdrawal from Uganda did not prove sufficient to restore the financial balance, for, in 1892, the British Government had induced the Sultan of Zanzibar to place all his dominions within the Free Trade zone. The Company was thereby debarred from collecting duties on goods in transit from the interior, though it was, of course, obliged to continue to pay to the Sultan an annual subsidy of £11,000, equal to the yield of the customs in the first year of its administration, when these transit duties were levied. A still further difficulty arose from the fact that, under a series of commercial treaties which still remained in force, the subjects of foreign Powers were exempt from local taxation in the territories of the Sultan. In consequence of these limitations the Company was left with practically no resources, save its own capital, with which to meet the costs of the administration. Unlike the Royal Niger Company, which was almost exclusively a trading concern; or the British South Africa Company, which operated, indeed, at a loss for many years, but which built up enormous assets in the form of mining and railway interests and real estate; the Imperial British East Africa Company was primarily an administrative undertaking—with virtually no administrative revenue! Its real character was well summed up by Lord Salisbury when he said that 'it would hardly be just to describe it as a purely

commercial body, for it is notorious that the majority of, if not all, the subscribers are actuated rather by philanthropic motives than by the expectation of receiving any adequate return for their outlay'. By 1893, however, the limits of philanthropic zeal had been reached and negotiations were entered into for a settlement with the Government. The whole situation was full of anomalies. The Company, for example, had no jurisdiction over British subjects outside the actual limits of the Sultan's dominions (the ten mile zone). Its officers, who were responsible for the maintenance of order in these territories, were thereby deprived of the means indispensable to the performance of their duty. The position had become intolerable, both for the Company and for the development of East Africa, but the Liberal ministry seemed entirely unwilling to come to any decision. The 'Little Englanders' lacked the imperial vision of Lord Rosebery, and endless bargaining of a very unedifying nature ensued between the Government and the Directors. The Company had spent, in all, some £450,000 in opening up East Africa to British influence, but the maximum sum which the Government was prepared to give by way of compensation was a quarter of a million. This offer, which was far less generous than the terms subsequently obtained by the other two British Chartered Companies in Africa, had perforce to be accepted by the shareholders and the administration of their territories was transferred to the Foreign Office. A British

Protectorate was proclaimed on June 15th, 1895, while the country was first officially described as the 'East Africa Protectorate' in the following year.

With the advent of the Conservatives to power in July, 1895, a new spirit of colonial enterprise soon made itself manifest. In his second ministry (1886-1892) Lord Salisbury had seen to it that Great Britain was not left outdistanced by her continental rivals in the 'Scramble for Africa'. In his third ministry (1895-1902) he had Joseph Chamberlain as his Secretary of State for the Colonies, and plans for opening up the 'undeveloped estates' of the Empire soon ceased to be mere idle dreams. A first sign of the changing times was the construction of a railway, which had been under discussion for ten years, to connect Mombasa with Victoria Nyanza. Parliamentary sanction was obtained in 1895 and work was taken in hand without delay. By 1902 all difficulties had been surmounted and the 'Uganda Railway' was an accomplished fact. It cost five and a quarter million pounds to build, and all charges, in respect both of interest and sinking fund, were met by the British taxpayer. Up to the present, indeed, its operating profits have been devoted solely to improvements and rate reductions.

Prior to the completion of this great trunk line the administration of the Uganda Protectorate was no easy task, though the religious tension was considerably relieved by the appointment of a Roman Catholic Bishop of British nationality in 1894, while,

in the next two years, the economic life of the country was greatly stimulated by the construction of roads and the arrival of artisans from India, whose work was soon copied by the natives. It was too much to hope, however, that the former despotic rulers of this gifted people should at once acquiesce in the supervision and control of Europeans, and it is not surprising that a number of leading chiefs should have been arrested in 1897 for plotting the overthrow of British rule. Mwanga, who had been privy to their schemes, fled into German territory and his followers were defeated. Unfortunately the crisis was not yet over, as the British officers were apparently unaware of the grievances of their Sudanese troops. These had originally been intended to be military settlers; their pay was very low, but they were to be given land to cultivate. In point of fact, they had been kept on active service for several years and the prospect of still further fighting in the inhospitable northern territories of the Protectorate goaded them into revolt. The garrison at Luba's, in Busoga, joined in the movement and captured three Englishmen whom they afterwards murdered. They managed, however, to hold out at their fort for several months against the loyal Baganda who were besieging it. Early in 1898 Mwanga escaped from his exile, declared himself a convert to Islam, and made common cause with the rebels. The garrison of Luba's succeeded in leaving the fort by water and endeavoured to march to Bunyoro, where they hoped to enlist the sympathies

of the Sudanese garrisons and where, in any case, they were assured of support from the followers of Kabarega. A sharp action fought against them in February dealt a fatal blow to their cause, but guerilla warfare went on until the middle of 1899, when Mwanga and Kabarega were finally captured and deported to the Seychelles. The era of peace and prosperity which followed has lasted from that day to this.

The problems of administration were passed in review by Sir Harry Johnston, who was sent to Uganda as a Special Commissioner towards the end of 1899. He came to the conclusion that 'the natives...should be assisted and encouraged to govern themselves, as far as possible without too much interference on the part of European officials'. He therefore proceeded to negotiate a series of agreements with the principal native States. The most important of these was that concluded in 1900 with the kingdom of Buganda, where a council of regency had been appointed during the minority of Mwanga's infant son, Daudi Chwa. It recognized and maintained the existing State system, which presented features of no small interest. The Kabaka is the head of the State, but he is assisted by a Parliament, called the Lukiko, composed of the territorial chiefs of the twenty counties into which the kingdom is divided, together with sixty-six other members nominated by him. This body holds a legislative session each year and meets as a Court of Law almost every day. The local administration is largely in the hands of the country chiefs, who are also entrusted

with the task of collecting the poll tax. The British authorities have a very great deal—perhaps even too much—to say in the appointment of these local chieftains, whose office is not hereditary. Even so the Kingdom of Buganda is probably the most advanced in matters of self-government of all the native States, and certainly of all the pagan States, of Africa. Similar arrangements were made with the rulers of Toro and Ankole, and ‘indirect rule’ was established wherever its introduction was in any way practicable.

Since 1900 the Uganda Protectorate has been shorn of some of its Provinces. Its eastern boundary originally ran from the south end of Lake Rudolf in a fairly straight line to the frontier of German East Africa. In 1902, however, the Kisumu and Naivasha districts, which to-day comprise some of the land best suited for European settlement, were transferred to the East Africa Protectorate, while the frontier has recently been brought still further to the West, with the result that the Rudolf and Turkwel country has all been ceded to Kenya. Along the northern frontier an exchange of territory was effected with the Sudan Government in 1914, by which Uganda lost Nimule but gained the country lying to the north of Lake Albert.

The history of the Uganda Protectorate during the last twenty-five years or so is a record of steady progress in the economic and administrative spheres, combined with a remarkable development in the campaign against tropical diseases. While very much

still remains to be done in this direction, the way in which sleeping sickness has been brought under control is in itself a very high tribute to the British administration. In the question of transport it will be remembered that the original 'Uganda Railway', with its terminus at Kisumu on the Kavirondo Gulf of Victoria Nyanza, did not actually enter the Protectorate of Uganda. With the aid of a series of lake steamers, however, it provided a most important outlet for its products. In 1911 a line was opened from Jinja, near the great lake, to Namasagali, on Lake Kioga—the so-called Busoga Railway—thereby assuring an outlet for the cotton crop of the Eastern Province. In 1928 the branch line of the Uganda Railway running from Nakuru through the Uasin Gishu highlands in Kenya to Tororo was extended to form a junction with the Busoga line, and the Uganda Protectorate now enjoys through railway communication with the coast. The administration of the country was transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office in 1905, while a new constitution was introduced in 1920 which established a Legislative Council, with an official majority, but containing nominated unofficial members, chosen from among the European and Indian population, in addition. Uganda has remained almost exclusively a black man's country and government is carried on mainly through the intermediary of the highly developed native States.

The history of the adjoining British territory of East Africa during the past twenty-five years is in

marked contrast to that of the inland Protectorate. It will be remembered that the country was transferred from the Imperial British East Africa Company to the Foreign Office in 1895. For the next eight years the construction of the great railway trunk line from Mombasa to Kisumu occupied almost the whole attention of the first British administrators, but they were impressed, from the outset, by the possibilities of large areas of land in the highlands, which they considered to be 'admirably suited for a white man's country'. Apart from the uninhabitable semi-desert tract lying towards the northern frontier, native population, even in the South, is mainly concentrated in a few relatively limited areas. Near Victoria Nyanza, indeed, the population is exceedingly dense, rising to well over a thousand to the square mile in parts of Kavirondo, but, with the exception of the Kikuyu country, the territory traversed by the railway line was, in the early days, mainly devoted to the pastoral activities of the small but powerful nomadic tribe of the Masai. As early as 1902 the British Government offered land in the highlands to the Zionist organization with a view to their setting up, in East Africa, a new national home for the Jews, but nothing came of the proposal. In the same year, however, a Crown Lands Ordinance authorized the Commissioner to sell and lease land for European settlement, and a publicity campaign in South Africa led to the arrival of a number of settlers in the following year. The encouragement of European farmers was thus

part of the settled policy of the British Government, and the optimism with which this was regarded in official quarters is well illustrated by the considered opinion of the then Commissioner for the Protectorate, Sir Charles Eliot. 'East Africa', he wrote, 'will probably become in a short time a white man's country, in which native questions will present but little interest'.* The Foreign Office did not only give land to individual settlers; it also granted huge concessions to a syndicate. Before the Protectorate was transferred to the Colonial Office in 1905, there were already the makings of a 'land problem' in British East Africa.

European settlement began in 1903. Eight years later the white population amounted to 3175; this had risen to 9651 by 1921, and to 12,529 by 1926. There is probably no British community of this size in the whole wide world about which so much has been heard as this small and scattered group in East Africa. The immediate economic interests of pioneer settlers—and, let it be added, of pioneer speculators whose interests do not necessarily coincide with those of the actual producers—are not always easy to reconcile with the ultimate well-being of the African population. It should not be forgotten that, in addition to some thirty thousand Indians, who offer sufficiently difficult problems of their own, there are over two and a half million Africans in the country and 'native questions', far from presenting 'but little interest', are likely long to remain the dominant political issue.

* *Vide* Sir C. Eliot, *The East Africa Protectorate* (1905), p. 302.

The existence of an energetic and vocal European community has not been without effect upon official policy. In 1906 a Legislative Council was set up which contained three unofficial members nominated by the Governor. The anomalies inherent in the legal conception of a Protectorate were largely put an end to in 1920, when the country was annexed by Great Britain and renamed the Kenya Colony.* Two years later the constitution was considerably modified by the partial introduction of the elective principle for membership of the Legislative Council. This body now consists of the Governor, twenty official members, eleven European members elected by the white settlers, five elected Indian members, and one nominated and one elected Arab member. In addition to these, the Governor nominates a Christian missionary to represent the interests of the native Africans. It can be seen at once that the composition of this body was bound to raise a number of highly contentious issues. The Indian community, for instance, refused to put forward any candidates for the elections of 1924, on the ground that it was being treated unfairly. Early in the previous year, moreover, proposals connected with the franchise had led to a remarkable outburst on the part of the more politically minded of the white

* The ten mile coastal strip, which nominally forms part of the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, was not affected by this proclamation save that, henceforward, it was to be known as the Kenya Protectorate. The North-East frontier of Kenya Colony was modified by a treaty concluded in 1924, in which Great Britain ceded most of the former province of Jubaland to Italy.

settlers. In addition to these constitutional questions, legislation relating to land and labour have also roused the deepest passions and have raised issues, many of which are still under discussion. The post-war years in Kenya have, indeed, been a period of storm and stress which cannot receive more than a passing reference in an historical outline such as this. From the point of view of Great Britain, however, the basis of our policy must necessarily be that contained in an official statement made six years ago. '...In the administration of Kenya His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, and they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races.'

Chapter XVII

TANGANYIKA TERRITORY

IMPERIAL Germany was a late arrival on the colonial scene and large sections of opinion in the Fatherland remained quite unconvinced as to the desirability of this particular form of territorial expansion. In 1884, however, Bismarck was reluctantly persuaded to press for a place in the tropical sun, and within the next few years nearly a million square miles of African territory came under German protection. The largest and most populated of these tropical dependencies was German East Africa.* It owed its inception, as we have seen in a previous chapter, to the activities of Dr Karl Peters. Early in 1885 this active, but rather unprincipled pioneer, secured a Charter for the German East Africa Company to exploit the concessions he had obtained from native chieftains in Usagara and adjoining countries. Two years later he entered into a provisional agreement with the Sultan of Zanzibar for a fifty years' lease of the whole coastline which the Anglo-German Convention of 1886 had recognized as falling within the

* Estimated area and population of German Africa:

	Sq. miles	Population
East Africa	384,180	7,645,800
South-West Africa	322,450	79,600
Togoland	33,700	1,032,000
Cameroons	191,130	2,648,700
	<hr/> 931,460	<hr/> 11,406,100

German sphere, and this was signed, with some modifications, by the German Consul-General at Zanzibar on April 22nd, 1888. When the officials of the German Company endeavoured to take over the administration of these coastal territories, they provoked a serious revolt of the Arabs and half-castes, led by the *valis*, or Governors, who had been virtually independent under the old regime. The rising was suppressed with the aid and co-operation of the British authorities, but it involved problems far too large for the Company to settle unaided, and the Imperial Government was obliged to come to its assistance. A German Protectorate was proclaimed on October 22nd, 1889, and order was largely re-established by the middle of the following year.

Count Caprivi, who became Imperial Chancellor early in 1890, was no more enthusiastic about colonial matters than his predecessor had been, and one of his first acts was to come to an understanding with Great Britain. Germany gave up all claims to Uganda, renounced Witu, adjusted all her African frontier disputes with this country, and received Heligoland in exchange. As a British statesman put it, we surrendered a trouser button in return for a suit of clothes. Bismarck's views with regard to the internal administration of the country, however, had perforce to be abandoned. When he first initiated a colonial policy he had declared his aim to be 'the governing merchant and not the governing bureaucrat.... Our privy councillors and expectant subalterns are

excellent enough at home, but in the colonial territories I expect more from the Hanseatics who have been there'. In East Africa the 'governing merchant' had proved a failure and, in the year of the 'Heligoland Treaty', the Imperial Government took over entire responsibility for the administration of the country acquired by the German East Africa Company. The situation was still further regularized by the acquisition, in the same year, of full sovereign rights over the coastal belt leased from the Sultan of Zanzibar in return for the payment to that potentate of a capital sum of four million marks (£200,000).

The opening-up of the country was due in no small measure to the administrative and military ability of Dr von Wissmann, who had a wide experience of African conditions. Unfortunately, however, the German officials, for the most part, came to their tasks with but little knowledge of native mentality, as colonial government was an entirely new field for them. Moreover, many 'questionable existences' made their appearance amongst them and the colonies were not infrequently regarded as a suitable dumping ground for men who, for one reason or another, found it difficult to live at home. A number of scandals naturally ensued, even in high places, and the enthusiasm of the early 'eighties was soon succeeded by apathy and indifference.

In East Africa a number of native risings caused the greatest difficulty to the new rulers. Discontent was rampant, more particularly in the South, where the

local Bantu tribes had learned the arts of war from continual fighting against Zulu invaders. In 1891 the Wahehe, who inhabited the plateau country south of the Rufiji River, broke into open revolt, and fighting continued for two or three years before the Germans succeeded in suppressing the rising. A number of years of peace followed, during which the authority of the new Government was extended over the whole country. The introduction of a hut tax in 1897, however, caused much discontent, and this was added to by the frequent demands for forced labour made by the Europeans. Finally, a serious revolt broke out—the so-called Maji-Maji rebellion—in 1905. The natives, whether Mohammedan or pagan, of the country lying between Lake Nyasa and the Kilwa coast made common cause against their rulers. The secrecy with which their plans had been laid enabled them to take the European inhabitants of this territory completely by surprise, and officials, missionaries, planters and traders were massacred almost to a man. There followed two years of ruthless warfare against the insurgents, who are stated to have lost at least seventy thousand killed.

Risings in the Cameroons (1904–5), South-West Africa (1903–7) and East Africa (1905–7) at last convinced the Home Government that all was not well in the German overseas colonies. Up to 1907 administration had been vested in a department of the Foreign Office, but in that year a separate Colonial Office was created, with wide administrative and

executive powers. The appointment of Dr Dernburg, a successful banker, as the first Colonial Secretary, was also an earnest that affairs in the tropical dependencies would now be taken seriously in hand.

One of the first and most pressing needs of German East Africa was an improved system of transport. In the early 'nineties ambitious schemes for railway construction had been widely canvassed. The German East Africa Company had indeed formed a subsidiary company, as early as 1893, with a view to building a trunk line from Tanga to Victoria Nyanza, but this was actually only constructed as far as Muhesa, twenty-five miles inland. It was operated at a loss and soon had to be taken over by the Government. After a pause of nine years the railhead reached Mombo, eighty miles from Tanga, in 1905, but the completion of the Uganda Railway had quite changed the outlook for trade with the countries surrounding Victoria Nyanza. In the 'nineties proposals had also been made for a trunk line to connect Dar-es-Salaam with Lake Tanganyika, but first the Government and then the Reichstag had declined to provide the necessary financial support. In 1904, however, a concession was granted for the construction of a railway to Morogoro, one hundred and thirty miles inland, the Home Government giving the concessionary an interest guarantee of 3 per cent. upon the authorized capital. The line was completed in 1907 and was opened by Dr Dernburg. From this time onwards there was a complete change in the official attitude towards the

territory, and the Government was induced to provide large sums for railway construction on the grand scale. In the North, the Usambara Railway was extended to Moshi, two hundred and twenty miles from Tanga, by 1911, thereby providing transport facilities for the European plantations that had sprung up in the Kilimanjaro highlands. This line, which was leased to a private company, also had a strategic value, since at one point it came to within twelve miles of the frontier of British East Africa. Of even greater importance, however, was the great central trunk line, which reached Tabora in 1912 and Kigoma, on Lake Tanganyika, over seven hundred and seventy miles from the coast, two years later. Its construction had been pushed forward with amazing rapidity in view of the fact that the Lukuga Railway in the Belgian Congo had already arrived at the western shore of Lake Tanganyika, and the Germans feared that the trade of these inland districts might pass to their rivals. Plans for a branch line from Tabora to the thickly populated areas to the southwest of Victoria Nyanza were interrupted by the outbreak of the World War.

The last seven years of German rule thus witnessed a remarkable revolution in transport, which soon began to have results on the foreign trade statistics of the country. In administrative matters, however, the changes effected with the advent of the new order in 1907 do not appear to have been so far reaching. When the Germans established themselves in East

Africa, the only parts of the country in which native organization had developed on what might be called an advanced tribal basis were the territories of Ruanda, Urundi and Bukoba. These three provinces were called 'Residencies' and continued to be administered by native Sultans, under the supervision and general direction of German Residents. Elsewhere, and especially along the coast, where tribal institutions had been submerged by Arab and other influences, the Germans ruled through the intermediary of Arab and Swahili officials. The whole country, apart from the three Residencies, was divided up into nineteen civil and two military districts (*Bezirke*), each under a District Administrator (*Bezirksamtmann*). These were subdivided into groups of villages, under an Arab official called the *Akida*, while each village was under the control of a *Jumbe*, who was also usually an alien. In a country with a population of over seven and a half million natives, the total German administrative staff does not appear to have numbered more than seventy.* Under these conditions no adequate control was exercised over the Arab subordinates, who collected the poll tax, substituted for the unpopular hut tax in 1912, and whose influence over native life was virtually paramount. It was a system of alien rule which frequently lacked the virtues of enlightenment. The Germans, moreover, do not always appear to have understood the limitations of force as a method of government. The flogging and

* *Vide* Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, I, 448.

chaining of prisoners seems to have been of common occurrence, and natives who violated a labour contract were liable to receive corporal punishment, though only after thorough investigation into each individual case. While there can be no doubt that the application of this system became notably less harsh after 1907, the system itself was maintained. Not the least of its defects was the fact that the German administration was seriously understaffed. In its technical organization, however, Germany can point to achievements which all colonizing nations might well consider with care. The Agricultural Institute founded in 1902 at Amani, in the Usambara mountains, to take but one example, was a model of its kind.

The Government was inclined to favour white settlement, for which two mountain areas—the Kilimanjaro country in the North-East, and the highlands near the north end of Lake Nyasa in the South-West—appeared to be most suitable. Subject to respect being had for existing native rights, the alienation of land to German settlers was authorized by a decree of 1895, which also established a Commission to set aside suitable areas for native reserves. In the Kilimanjaro country these alienations led to a considerable encroachment upon native lands, but in the South-West European settlement was much less developed, owing to difficulties of transport. By 1914 the total white population was in the neighbourhood of five thousand, of whom the vast majority were German nationals.

The effects of the World War were more keenly felt in East Africa than in any other part of the Continent. Whereas Togoland was overrun by Allied forces within a month of the outbreak of hostilities, while South-West Africa was surrendered in July, 1915, and the conquest of the Cameroons was completed early in the following year, the German troops in East Africa, under the brilliant leadership of General von Lettow-Vorbeck, only laid down their arms after the Armistice had been signed. Down to the beginning of 1916, indeed, the British forces in Uganda and Kenya were on the defensive, their efforts being concentrated primarily upon holding the line of the Uganda Railway. Parts of the country lying on the south-western frontier of Uganda had actually to be evacuated for a time. In April, 1916, however, an army from the Belgian Congo advanced through British territory into Ruanda, while a Uganda force crossed the Kagera River and occupied Mwanza in July. Two months later the Belgians reached Tabora. In the meantime General Smuts had taken command of a composite force, including British Africans, from the East and from the West, together with a number of Indians, and had advanced into German territory from British East Africa. After defeating the enemy near Kili-manjaro, he occupied Moshi on March 13th and thus obtained possession of the principal centres of white settlement. By the end of 1916 British and Belgian forces had driven the enemy south of the Central Railway, and a provisional administration was estab-

lished for the northern parts of the country. In May an army under General Northey advanced from the South and succeeded in driving the enemy out of the territories in the neighbourhood of the frontier of Northern Rhodesia. The Allies continued to make progress, and in November, 1917, the little German army was driven across the Rovuma River into Portuguese East Africa, most of the enemy territory being brought under Allied administration early in the following year. Von Lettow-Vorbeck, however, proved himself a past master in guerilla fighting. Pressed by British troops from Nyasaland he forced his way back into former German territory, then turned into Northern Rhodesia and advanced southwards to Kasama, which he captured in November, 1918. News of the Armistice brought this truly epic campaign to an end, and the gallant German commander had perforce to surrender. Throughout the War the loyalty of his *Askari*, or native regular troops, was remarkable. While it shows conclusively that they were well treated, it does not necessarily prove anything so far as German policy towards the mass of the native population was concerned.

In Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany renounced 'in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her oversea possessions'. Their disposal was, in certain cases, a matter of some difficulty. It was originally intended, for example, to hand over German East Africa in its entirety to Great Britain, but her share

in the campaign led Belgium to advance claims of her own, and a compromise was finally arrived at by which she received the districts of Ruanda and Urundi.* These territories were not, however, handed over in full sovereignty but were to be held under a Mandate from the League of Nations. The main features of this most interesting innovation in International Law were outlined in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League. Great Britain administers the Tanganyika Territory, as the former German East Africa is now called, under a Mandate, drawn up in accordance with the stipulations of this Article, which was approved and finally confirmed by the Council of the League on July 20th, 1922. It stipulates, *inter alia*, that 'the Mandatory' (i.e. Great Britain) 'shall be responsible for the peace, order and good government of the territory, and shall undertake to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of its inhabitants'. The Mandatory must provide for the eventual elimination of every vestige of slavery and

* German East Africa had a population of over seven and a half millions, of which something over four millions live in the large British zone, while the Belgian zone, with an area of little more than 20,000 square miles, has a population now estimated at 5 millions. The original frontier between the British and Belgian mandated territories was drawn in such a way as to leave to the former one of the best routes for a North-South railway which would be a link in the Cape to Cairo line. Unfortunately it cut across the native kingdom of Ruanda and thereby caused much discontent among the local inhabitants, a fact which was brought to the notice of the Mandates Commission in 1922. This was pointed out to the Mandatories, who, in the following year, accepted a new frontier which leaves Ruanda entirely in the Belgian mandated area.

‘shall prohibit all forms of forced or compulsory labour, except for essential public works and services, and then only in return for adequate remuneration’. In the mandated territory complete equality of treatment is guaranteed to all nationals of States Members of the League of Nations, and no concessions having the character of a monopoly may be granted. The Mandatory is, however, authorized ‘to constitute the territory into a customs, fiscal and administrative union or federation with the adjacent territories under his own sovereignty or control, provided always that the measures adopted to that end do not infringe the provisions of this mandate’. One of the interesting features of the Mandate System in general is that each Mandatory must make an annual report to the Council of the League, giving full information as to the measures it has taken to apply the provisions of the Mandate within the territory in question. These reports are considered by a Permanent Mandates Commission, appointed by the Council, and the element of publicity which this implies goes far to ensure that the terms of the Mandate, or ‘sacred trust’, are in fact complied with.

The ravages of the War, and the uncertainty which was caused by the long delay in the issue of the Mandate, made the introduction of British administration in Tanganyika no light task. An Order in Council, issued in 1920, gave the Territory a Governor and an Executive Council, while another Order in Council, issued six years later, provided for a Legislative

Council in addition. This body is composed of thirteen official members and a maximum of ten unofficial members, who are all nominated by the Governor. The white settlers have thus been assured of some representation for their views, but the elective principle, which was introduced in Kenya in 1922, has not been applied to the mandated area.

After the War it was for some years extremely difficult to restore economic and financial equilibrium in Tanganyika. Down to 1923, in fact, the budget of the Territory showed considerable deficits, in spite of large increases in the duties on imports which greatly dissatisfied the trading community. Since that date, ordinary revenue has sufficed to cover ordinary expenditure, but loans-in-aid were received from the British Government for three more years in order to meet such extraordinary expenditure as that upon railway construction. In 1926, however, budget equilibrium was fully restored and the country is now in a prosperous state. The completion of a branch railway from Tabora to Mwanza (238 miles) in 1928 opens up a rich cotton-growing area and provides an alternative outlet from Victoria Nyanza to the sea. If the project of a trunk line from Dar-es-Salaam to Manda (Wiedhafen) on Lake Nyasa is proceeded with, still more producing areas of the greatest potential importance will be brought into contact with the outside world. As a result of the War, all German subjects were evacuated and the white population of the country fell to less than half its earlier level. Since 1925,

however, Germans have been allowed to return, though it is perhaps too early, as yet, to estimate what effect this will have on the future development of the Territory.

The most important change in Tanganyika during the brief period of British rule has come in regard to native administration. The appointment of Sir Donald Cameron, who was previously Chief Secretary of Nigeria, brought a convinced believer in 'indirect rule' to govern this largest of our East African Dependencies early in 1925. His view is that the first essential for making the native 'a good African' is the re-establishment of the traditional authority of the local chiefs, which had been seriously compromised under the German system of rule through alien officials. A careful study of native organization has to be made in order to find out where the basis of tribal authority really lies. When the traditional ruler of a tribe is ascertained, his authority is recognized and reinforced, though always under European supervision. The Native Authority Ordinance of 1926 defines the powers of native chiefs, it being understood that their authority remains, in principle, what it was under tribal law. In order to guarantee an education on sound lines for the future rulers of the country, special schools for chiefs' sons have been established at Tabora and Bukoba. A further, and most essential feature of this reform is the introduction of native courts and native treasuries, which already play so large a rôle in the administration of Nigeria. The

experiment is now well under way in Tanganyika and the native is rapidly becoming 'a living part of the machinery of government'. Its outcome may well prove of paramount importance to all our East African Dependencies.

Chapter XVIII

BRITISH SOMALILAND

THE 'Horn of Africa', the north-eastern corner of the Continent, has long been in intimate contact with the Middle East. Its Somali inhabitants are a mixed race, whose language is closely related to that of the Gallas, an Hamitic people which forms the main element in the population of Abyssinia. Theirs was almost certainly the country from which frankincense and myrrh were obtained in Biblical times. Early in the Christian era Zeila became the principal port of Abyssinia, and an ancient record tells us that it was from here that a king of that country set out with his army to invade the Yemen in A.D. 529. With the advent of Islam, however, penetration from Asia was soon the dominant factor, and, even in the lifetime of the Prophet, Arab refugees began to cross the Red Sea. As the years went by they settled along this part of the African coast, intermingling with the earlier inhabitants and forming that mixture of Semitic and Hamitic blood, of Gallas and of Arabs, which we know as the Somali people. Early in the sixteenth century the Portuguese arrived upon the scene, intent upon intercepting the ships which sailed from Zeila, Berbera and the Red Sea ports and profited by the monsoon to trade with the Malabar coast. The Turks competed with the Christians in this lucrative form of

piracy and the once flourishing commerce between North-East Africa and India was brought almost to a standstill.

The principal coastal towns of Somaliland remained in Arab hands down to the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The control over shipping in the Red Sea, which this assured the local chieftains, ultimately led them to acquire some importance in the eyes of the British rulers of India. In 1839 Aden was occupied under the authority of the Bombay Government, and in the following year the East India Company made treaties with two rulers on the opposite coastline, the Sultan of Tajura, which is now in French Somaliland, and the Governor of Zeila. These gentlemen undertook not to enter into treaty relations with other Foreign Powers and, in addition, ceded two small islands which lay off their respective harbours. The Company thus gained strategic points which increased the value of Aden and strengthened the naval position of Great Britain in the Indian Ocean. It was essential, too, to have some influence, however slight, over the lawless Somalis, who treated with scant respect any shipwrecked mariners who might have the misfortune to be cast up on their inhospitable shores. About the Somali hinterland, however, but little was known until Richard Burton, already famous for his daring pilgrimage to Mecca, undertook his first African journey in 1854. He set out from Aden to Zeila and then made his way inland to Harrar, a hotbed of Moslem fanaticism. From there he returned to Berbera,

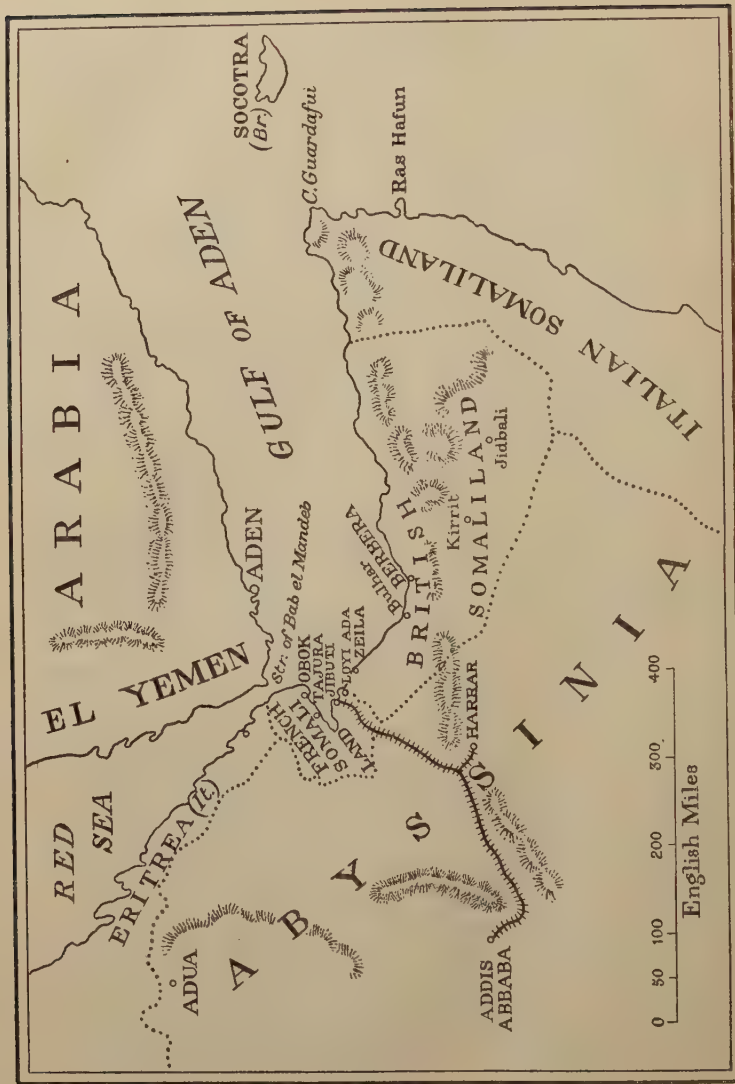
arriving back in Aden within less than four months of his departure.

In the late 'sixties, Ismail I, Khedive of Egypt, gradually obtained possession of the Red Sea littoral, a process completed in the early 'seventies, when Egyptian rule was established over Zeila and Berbera. On General Gordon's visit, eight years later, Zeila was then the main outlet for the trade of the hinterland. Its period of prosperity, however, was destined to be short-lived, for Egypt soon lost its hold over the Sudan and finally withdrew from the Somali Coast in 1884.

The departure of the Egyptians occurred at a time when the principal European Powers had begun to show a new interest in this part of the African Continent. France, for example, had bought the port of Obok from the local chiefs as early as 1862, but it was not until 1883 that she entered into effective possession. In the next year, moreover, she concluded a treaty with the Sultan of Tajura, to which Great Britain raised no objection, and was thus firmly established in Somaliland. Under these circumstances the Government of India, which exercised jurisdiction over Aden, entered into negotiations with a number of Somali chieftains, and by the end of 1885 had concluded treaties with six of the eight tribes now inhabiting the British sphere. This action was followed by the official notification of a British Protectorate over the Somali Coast, from Ras Jibuti to the eastwards, on July 20th, 1887. In the following year an agreement was concluded with France, in accordance

with which Jibuti itself was handed over to that country, the western frontier of the British Protectorate being fixed at Loyi Ada. This cession was later to have most serious consequences on the economic life of British Somaliland, as the French soon concentrated upon Jibuti, making it the terminus of a railway which finally reached Addis Abbaba in 1915. The trade of Eastern and Central Abyssinia now reaches the sea by way of French territory, and the historic port of Zeila, in the British sphere, has sunk into relative insignificance in consequence.

Another European Power, Italy, had also shown an active interest in North-East Africa. As early as 1870, the year in which her national unity was completed by the occupation of Rome, she had established a tentative foothold in the Bay of Assab in the Red Sea, and twelve years later she returned to her task. To the north of the French sphere she built up the colony of Eritrea, while in 1889 she proclaimed a Protectorate over the eastern parts of Somaliland, which had not yet been appropriated by any European Power. Her dream of establishing territorial continuity between these two possessions by the conquest of the independent inland kingdom of Abyssinia was, however, shattered for ever at the disastrous battle of Adua in 1896. Two years previously she had concluded a boundary agreement with Great Britain, while in 1897 the frontier between Abyssinia and British Somaliland was also settled by negotiations between the two countries concerned.



Sketch Map of North-East Africa.

Before the close of the nineteenth century the territorial limits of our Protectorate had thus been established, though almost all these boundaries were artificial lines, many of which have not been properly demarcated even yet. The establishment of ordered government over the nomad tribes which inhabit most of this territory has, however, proved itself a task of exceptional difficulty. In 1895 one Mohammed bin Abdullah Hassan, an obscure native of the hinterland, who was probably born at Kirrit some thirty years previously, began to preach sedition in the coastal town of Berbera. He had undertaken several pilgrimages to Mecca, where he had joined the sect of Mohammed Saleh, and he now posed as a saint. Having failed on the coast, he raised the standard of revolt amongst the nomads living in the neighbourhood of the Italian frontier. He was personally without fear, and his ruthlessness and native cruelty inspired terror even in his own adherents. This remarkable man, who was frequently known as the 'Mad Mullah', was, however, to prove himself a born leader of men. He proclaimed a 'Holy War' against Abyssinians and Europeans alike and, in 1901, was defeated by a mixed force of Abyssinians and Somali levies under Colonel Swayne, and forced to take refuge in Italian territory. He returned in the next year and fought some rather indecisive engagements. In 1903, however, he managed to inflict a serious reverse upon detachments of a Somali force, reinforced by Indian troops and British and Boer mounted infantry, under

the command of Colonel Manning. Things had thus become very critical, and a strong punitive expedition was organized in the following year under Lieutenant-General Sir C. C. Egerton. The dervishes were heavily defeated at Jidbali and the Mullah was only too glad to come to an arrangement with the Italians, who offered him a permanent residence in their territory, with access to the sea. Through their intermediary, he made peace with the British, and his followers received certain grazing rights in our sphere.

A number of changes had taken place meanwhile in the administration of British Somaliland. The Protectorate had, at first, been placed in charge of the Resident at Aden, who was under the Bombay Government. In 1898, however, it was transferred to the Foreign Office and finally, with so many other African Protectorates, it was taken over by the Colonial Office in 1905.

The country was not destined to be at peace for long, for, in 1908, only three years after his negotiations with the Italians, the Mullah broke out afresh. His followers subjected the tribes friendly to the British to incessant raids, and reinforcements had to be brought into the Protectorate from other parts of British East Africa and from India. The situation remained so unsatisfactory that, in 1910, the Home Government decided to issue arms to our former friends and leave them to fend for themselves as best they could. All our troops were withdrawn from the

interior, and British rule was henceforward to be restricted to the coastal area. The administration of Somaliland had, indeed, proved an expensive undertaking and the revenue of the country fell far short of the expenditure. The policy of coastal concentration was therefore adopted for reasons of economy. Under it, however, the situation rapidly became untenable. The friendly natives engaged in inter-tribal fights, and the Mullah's encroachments continued apace. To restore some measure of order, a Camel Constabulary was organized, under the command of a very promising officer named R. C. Corfield. It was soon successful so far as the friendly tribes were concerned, but it was hopelessly outnumbered by a horde of dervish raiders at Dulmadoba in August, 1913, and, although it gave an excellent account of itself, its Commandant and half his followers were killed. This disaster compelled the Government to increase its armed forces once again, if only to defend the grazing grounds of the nearest friendly tribes and to save the country from complete anarchy. Late in 1914 the time had come for yet another punitive expedition, as a result of which a military occupation of the interior was re-established. Peace was, however, unthinkable so long as the Mullah still lived, and, during the trying and difficult years of the World War, reinforcements could not, of course, be spared for guerilla fighting in North-East Africa. The dervishes, therefore, continued their familiar tactics until matters came to a head in 1919. The time had at last come for a final

reckoning with Mohammed bin Abdullah Hassan. For twenty-one years he had been the declared foe of ordered government, and not even the plea of holiness can excuse the brutal excesses and horrible mutilations which he practised on a vast scale during his long reign of terror. A strong force was organized to deal with him early in 1920. It consisted of a flight of aeroplanes, a contingent of seven hundred men of the King's African Rifles, as many of the Somaliland Camel Corps, a number of Indian troops, and some ships of the Royal Navy. In twenty-three days the power of the dervishes was completely overthrown. Their forts were destroyed without exception, the Mullah himself fled into Abyssinia, his stock and other belongings were captured, and all his followers were either killed or taken prisoner. The pacification of the country was now accomplished, and the death of the Mullah, in 1921, gave an additional air of finality to the settlement.

Of recent years British Somaliland has been at peace. Revenue has increased, but grants and loans-in-aid from the Home Government are still necessary to maintain budgetary equilibrium, though they are much smaller now than they were. The innate conservatism of the nomad population makes economic progress most difficult. Help may possibly come from the mineral resources of the country, since both oil and coal are known to exist. It is difficult to say how much of the land will ultimately be brought under cultivation or what crops might be grown for export.

At the moment Somaliland's chief contribution—and that a very small one—to world trade is skins of sheep and goats. Apart from the Gambia, it is the only British territory in Africa which has no railways, and its people, proud and primitive, with a sense of humour and a blind devotion to Islam, remind us of an age that is past.

Part IV

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan

Chapter XIX

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

THE country lying to the South of the Second Cataract of the Nile has always been of great interest to the rulers of Egypt. Known to the ancient Egyptians as Ta Kes, and to the Hebrews as the land of Kush, its earliest inhabitants were probably akin to the Egyptians themselves, though of darker hue and coarser features. From time immemorial there seems to have been an infiltration of peoples from Arabia, by way of Abyssinia and the Eastern Sudan. The country as a whole was known to fame as Ethiopia, a name now restricted to the kingdom of Abyssinia, while its more northerly portions the Romans called Nubia. These territories were regarded with covetous eyes by the many peoples who in their turn ruled over Egypt, but the virile inhabitants of the Sudan usually succeeded in maintaining their independence and not infrequently threatened the safety and security of Egypt itself. To assure their southern frontiers, the Roman conquerors played off one Nubian tribe against another, while penetration from the Mediterranean took a new form in the sixth century A.D., when monks and missionaries of the Alexandrian Church succeeded in winning over the Sudanese to Christianity.

The Arab conquest of Egypt in A.D. 640 brought an entirely new element into North African history, though

nearly nine centuries were still to elapse before Islam gained a really firm hold over the Nubian hinterland. Arabs began to settle in the country at a fairly early date, but the Christian kingdoms of the Sudan long remained powerful and prosperous. The emergence of strong rival factions in the thirteenth century, however, seriously weakened their power of resistance, and Arab slave-dealers made their appearance in ever-increasing numbers in the countries of the Upper Nile. The foundation of the Great Mosque at Old Dongola in 1317 was an outward and visible sign of the steady southward advance of Islam, and the ravages of Civil War and of the Slave Trade late in the same century undermined the very basis of native Christian society. Arab invaders from the North and from the Red Sea slowly penetrated even into the Western Sudan, while, in the Blue Nile districts, the distinction between Arabs and negroes was being gradually eliminated by the intermingling of these peoples. By the beginning of the sixteenth century Christianity was banished from the country and Islam became the dominant religion in its stead.

The growth of Turkish power in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean led almost inevitably to the conquest of Egypt. In 1517 Cairo was taken by an invading force under Selim I, Sultan of Turkey, who soon established his authority as far south as the Third Cataract. Still further up the Nile lay the dominions of two powerful native States, the Fung Kingdom, with its capital at Sennar and the Kingdom of the Furs of

Darfur. The former made its first appearance on the historical scene in 1493, when Sheikh Amara Dunkas was declared King of all the Fung tribes, and conquered both banks of the Blue Nile between Fazogli and Khartum. Their sway was later extended over the White Nile, from which they drove their principal rivals, the Furs. According to tradition, Darfur passed into the hands of Tungur Arabs, who came South from Tunis in the fourteenth century, and soon acquired dominion over the more backward native population. Be this as it may, the Sultanate of Darfur remained a relatively stable element in Sudanese history right up to the eighteenth century and even later, and outlived the negro Kingdom of the Fungs. Indeed, after an existence of nearly three hundred years, this latter State was overwhelmed by the more primitive Hameg tribe in 1786, and the northern and eastern parts of the Sudan relapsed into total anarchy.

While confusion in the Upper Nile valley became worse confounded, an Albanian adventurer named Mehemet Ali was busily profiting by the chaos of Egyptian affairs to carve out a kingdom for himself and establish a semi-independent dynasty at Cairo. The welter of anarchy was such that the local sheikhs were glad to elect him Pasha in 1805, a choice which was confirmed by the Sultan in the following year. Mehemet Ali thereupon set himself to reorganize the army on western lines and to strengthen his position in the country. By 1819 he was able to turn his attention to the wide territories of the Upper Nile valley, and in



Sketch Map of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

that year he sent his son Ismail on a military expedition into the Sudan. The march to Khartum was accomplished without opposition, and the Egyptian forces proceeded as far South as Fazogli. The newcomers, however, appear to have treated the Sudanese in a most brutal fashion and aroused no little resentment amongst the native population. On his return journey, Ismail accepted an invitation to a banquet with the ruler of Shendi. When the guests were sufficiently intoxicated, the tent in which they sat was set on fire and Ismail and his followers were burned to death (1822). This and all attempts at rebellion were, however, ruthlessly suppressed and Egyptian rule was established over a large part of the country, Khartum becoming the capital of Mehemet Ali's new dominion.

For over fifty years the Sudan was ruled by Egyptian Governors-General. In 1838 Mehemet Ali, who was then in his seventieth year, himself conducted an expedition to the South. His authority was confirmed over the provinces of Kordofan, Sennar and Kassala, while Egyptian forces even penetrated as far afield as Kodok (Fashoda). Khartum was not only the administrative centre for a large empire; it also became the headquarters of a colossal trade in slaves which had ramifications far beyond the ill-defined frontiers of Egyptian rule. In the 'fifties a number of traders, of whom the first was John Petherick, the British Consul for the Sudan, ventured great distances up the Nile in search of ivory, but it was soon found that slave-raiding was more profitable. The European merchants sold

their stations to their Arab agents, and for nearly twenty years the negroes of the Southern Sudan were subject to endless invasions by these gentry. Slaughter and destruction followed in their wake and the whole Egyptian administration, which openly aided and abetted the Slave Trade, became involved in chaos and disorder. Said Pasha, who was Khedive of Egypt from 1854 to 1863, endeavoured to purify the Government of his southern dependency, but the series of edicts against slavery which he issued proved powerless to restrain the activities of the "Khartumers", or organized Arab slavers. At this time, however, much was done to increase our knowledge of the geography of this part of tropical Africa. Speke and Grant, coming from the East Coast, discovered Victoria Nyanza and proved that it was the source of the Nile, while Sir Samuel Baker's expedition worked up the valley of the mighty river and discovered Albert Nyanza. Ismail Pasha, who became Khedive in 1863, was most anxious to secure these equatorial dominions for Egypt and also seemed genuinely interested in the abolition of the Slave Trade. He therefore decided to appoint a European Governor of the Southern Sudan, and in 1869 succeeded in enlisting the services of Sir Samuel Baker for this purpose. This intrepid explorer became responsible for the administration of all territories south of Gondokoro, but his efforts to combat the Slave Trade were seriously hindered by the activities of the Egyptian authorities at Khartum, to whom the nefarious traffic was a source of considerable wealth.

His attempts at annexing Bunyoro also proved unsuccessful,* and he returned to Cairo in 1873. In the next year Colonel Gordon was appointed Governor of the Equatorial Provinces, and he at once proceeded to break up a number of slave stations. His experiment of associating veteran ex-slave raiders with him in the government of the country was, however, foredoomed to failure, and his negotiations with Mutesa with a view to establishing Egyptian suzerainty over Buganda also proved to be beyond the resources of his administration.

The reign of Ismail Pasha was, indeed, a period of hopeless extravagance and inefficiency. In every direction Egyptian rule was being extended regardless of cost. Expansion down the Red Sea Coast was followed by the annexation of Harrar in 1874, while Zeila and Berbera were acquired in the following year.† This led, in its turn, to a war with Abyssinia in which the Khedival troops did not show themselves to advantage. In 1874, moreover, Darfur had been captured and Gordon was meditating an expedition to the Great Lakes. But thirteen years of hopeless misgovernment were soon to precipitate a financial crisis in Egypt. During Ismail's reign the public debt increased from a little over three million sterling to some ninety-four millions, and 'for all practical purposes it may be said that the whole of the borrowed money, except £16,000,000 spent on the Suez Canal, was

* *Vide supra*, chap. xvi, pp. 300-1.

† Cf. *supra*, chap. xviii, p. 340.

squandered'.* Things could not continue indefinitely in this way, and in April, 1876, the Khedive suspended payment of his Treasury bills. Egypt was bankrupt, and a Commission of the Public Debt was appointed, while measures were taken to reorganize the administration. Folly and extravagance had thus paved the way for foreign control.

In 1877 Ismail appointed Gordon Governor-General of the Sudan. The Equatorial and the Red Sea Provinces were included within his jurisdiction, and the reorganization of these unwieldy dominions had to be attempted at a time when Egypt itself was heading for disaster. The new Governor-General was instructed to suppress the Slave Trade, to open up communications, and to establish peace with King John of Abyssinia. His Egyptian subordinates were nearly all corrupt and inefficient, while the army on which he had to rely was beneath contempt. The task was indeed a superhuman one, although Gordon could at least count on the assistance of a few very able European collaborators. Romolo Gessi, an Italian explorer and trader, was Governor of the Bahr-el-Ghazal; Edward Schnitzer, a German doctor known to history as Emin Pasha, was Governor of the Equatorial Province, with headquarters at Lado; and Rudolf von Slatin, an able Austrian soldier, was appointed Governor of Kordofan. The Governor-General himself was constantly on the move, countries as far apart as the Abyssinian border and Darfur claiming his personal attention. Corrupt

* Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, I, 11.

officials were removed from their posts at Harrar and elsewhere, and every effort was made to counteract the activities of the slave-raiders. The leader of this opposition was Zubeir, who had been made a Pasha for his assistance in the conquest of Darfur and who had then proceeded to Cairo to further his claims to the governorship of the new province. He was, however, detained at the Egyptian capital, from whence he instructed his son Suleiman to lead a revolt in the Bahr-el-Ghazal in the summer of 1878. A large number of Arabs flocked to his standard and two hundred Egyptian regulars were killed. A punitive expedition was therefore organized under Gessi, and the rebels were completely overthrown in the following year, when Suleiman himself was taken prisoner and shot.* In the far South Emin met with considerable success, but Gordon's ambitious schemes for annexing Bunyoro and Buganda had perforce to be given up for ever. Relations with Abyssinia also remained in an unsatisfactory state, and, when Gordon resigned in 1879, it had become apparent that the regeneration of the Sudan under Egyptian auspices was unthinkable. The central Government was hopelessly weak and the new Governor-General, Rauf Pasha, made no serious attempt to counteract the slave-raiders, whom Gordon had checked but had by no means destroyed. Un-

* Another important leader of the revolt, named Rabeh, succeeded, however, in making his escape westwards and afterwards established a kingdom for himself in the Lake Chad country, where he was ultimately defeated by the French in 1901. *Vide supra*, chap. x, p. 171 sq.

supported by his new superior, Gessi also resigned in 1880 and the country was rapidly heading for disaster.

We must now turn for a moment to consider the march of events in Egypt, where extreme financial stringency had virtually compelled Ismail Pasha to accept the aid of European ministers in 1878. Personal ambitions, the greed of gain on the part of the corrupt *ancien régime*, and religious animosities combined to hinder the work of the reformers. After a mutiny of army officers had taken place, the Khedive dismissed his European ministers (April, 1879). The position of the country was indeed disastrous. A bad harvest made it virtually impossible to meet the enormous interest charges on the debt, and the lot of the wretched over-taxed peasantry was miserable in the extreme. A reform of the administration would necessarily take some time to accomplish, but herein lay the only hope of a restoration of order, social no less than financial. The dismissal of the Europeans, however, made reform impossible. Considerable foreign interests were at stake, and the Great Powers therefore brought pressure to bear on the Khedive and his suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey. The outcome was that in June Ismail Pasha was deposed by the Sultan, and his son Prince Tewfik became Khedive in his stead. An International Commission was set up early in the following year 'with full powers to arrange matters between the Egyptian Government and their creditors', while two Controllers, an Englishman and a Frenchman, were appointed to keep a watchful eye over the financial

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situation. An essential condition was that they could only be dismissed with the consent of their respective Governments. The political situation, however, became increasingly difficult. The army remained restive and the military party, under the leadership of Colonel Arabi, soon came to exercise a veritable dictatorship. To counteract these subversive movements, Great Britain and France, whose financial interests in Egypt were greater than those of any other country, sent a joint note to the Khedive early in January, 1882. They emphasized their determination to maintain 'the order of things established in Egypt' and hinted at the possibility of an Anglo-French intervention under certain eventualities. This merely increased the tension and, for the moment, strengthened the hand of Arabi and his friends. In February Arabi became Minister of War, and protests from the British and French Governments proved powerless to save the Khedive from his mutinous army. The country was rapidly drifting towards revolution. Financial confusion increased and the susceptibilities of an excitable eastern people were stirred by religious enthusiasm and a vigorous propaganda against all foreigners. In June a riot broke out at Alexandria in which many Europeans were murdered by the mob. Events were indeed pressing forward at breakneck speed, and the Admiral in command of the British naval squadron, which had been sent to Alexandria to protect our nationals, reported that batteries were being raised on shore for use against him. Early in July he demanded that the

work of fortification should cease forthwith, though the French Government refused to co-operate in this *démarche*. His communication was disregarded and the British fleet bombarded the city, after due notice had been given, on July 11th. This was the prelude to active intervention in Egypt. Within little more than two months a British force under Sir Garnet Wolseley had soundly defeated the Arabists at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir (September 13th), and Great Britain entered upon the difficult task of converting 'the present interior state of Egypt from anarchy and conflict to peace and order'.

We are not here concerned with the almost miraculous regeneration of Egypt under British supervision. The point to be stressed is that, as from the early autumn of 1882, this country has occupied a very special position in the Lower Nile valley, a fact which, in its turn, is of the utmost importance in the history of the Sudan. Egyptian rule had led to anarchy in the Upper Nile countries; it was not merely foreign, it was also completely inefficient, and the native population were ground down by venal officials and oppressive taxation. Unless this fact is borne in mind, it is impossible to account for the astonishing ease with which Sheikh Mohammed Ahmed, an ambitious and astute religious leader from Dongola, overthrew the Khedive's Government in the Sudan. In the summer of 1881 he proclaimed that he was the Mahdi, whose advent was expected by all Mohammedans of the Sunni persuasion. His immediate aim was to win over

the Sudan and then march on Egypt, but his ultimate objective was the conversion of the whole world. In Egypt proper he was soon branded as a false prophet, but in the Northern Sudan, where 'the Government was almost universally hated and abhorred', the inhabitants flocked to his standard. The half-hearted attempts that had earlier been made to check the Slave Trade obtained for him the support of the nomad Baggara tribes of the desert, while the miserable inefficiency of the Egyptian troops enabled him to gain a number of initial successes which naturally added greatly to his prestige. By 1883 he had become a force to be reckoned with by those in authority at Cairo.

Egypt was at this time in the throes of financial reform and hardly any money was available for the suppression of rebellion in the Sudan. This fact naturally hampered the activities of General Hicks Pasha and the other British officers who had joined the staff of the Sudanese army in the spring of 1883. The troops were unpaid and undisciplined and their loyalty was more than doubtful. Under these conditions an advance against the Mahdi and his formidable force of dervishes was almost bound to be a failure, but the Egyptian Government had set its heart on this and was not to be deterred by a detailed examination of unpleasant facts. The British Government, moreover, was equally determined not to interfere, and refused to say anything on Sudanese affairs. The Commander-in-Chief therefore advanced into Kordofan with an

army of ten thousand men. After being lost in the bush, many hundreds of his troops 'died from thirst, and the remainder were too feeble to offer any determined resistance and were soon despatched by the enemy. A brilliant charge was made by Hicks Pasha and his staff, who all died fighting like men'.* This disaster occurred near Kashgil, to the south-east of El Obeid, on November 5th, 1883. It marked the end of Egyptian rule in the Sudan. In consequence, Slatin was compelled to surrender in Darfur soon afterwards, but a few of the garrisons were able to hold out for some time longer, though closely beleaguered by the victorious dervishes. Osman Digna, a former slave-dealer from Suakin, had meanwhile raised the standard of revolt in the Eastern Sudan, and it was clear that only British or Indian troops could save the situation. The British Government of the day, however, was only too anxious to avoid any form of military intervention, and before the end of the year had decided that the whole country should be evacuated.

For carrying out this new policy the Government's choice fell on General Gordon. He was a man of great personal courage and, in many ways, a most attractive figure. He was not unnaturally regarded as an expert on Sudanese affairs and was, at this time, the idol of the British public. The choice, however, was an unfortunate one, for his very changeable nature and his liability to fits of ungovernable passion made it most difficult for him to co-operate with his official col-

* *Vide* Col. Colvile, *History of the Soudan Campaign*, p. 16.

leagues.* In any case it would have been most difficult for any European to withdraw the beleaguered garrisons and at the same time 'to arrange for the future settlement of the Sudan for the best advantage of the people'. For a man of Gordon's generous nature it was inevitable that the latter, and subsidiary, point should take precedence over the former. When he arrived in Khartum with Colonel Stewart early in February, 1884, even his magnetic personality was unequal to the situation. He therefore proposed that Zubeir Pasha should be sent from Cairo to collaborate with him, as he thought that Zubeir's great personal prestige amongst the natives offered the only possible counterblast to the Mahdi's influence. The experiment he suggested looked like a counsel of despair, and was vetoed by the British Government. Within a very few months, however, Khartum itself was invested by the dervishes. Whatever views might have been held as to the manner in which Gordon had interpreted his instructions, there could now be no doubt that the first duty of the British Government was to concert measures for his relief. Unfortunately it was not until October that an expedition left Egypt under the command of Lord Wolseley, and the enormous difficulties of transport and supply naturally retarded its progress. When the relief force finally

* 'It is as well', wrote Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer) to Lord Granville on January 21st, 1884, 'that Gordon should be under my orders, but a man who habitually consults the Prophet Isaiah when he is in a difficulty is not apt to obey the orders of any one.' Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, I, 448 n.

approached Khartum on January 28th, 1885, it was discovered that they had arrived too late. The dervishes had attacked the city two days previously, and the half-starved garrison had been entirely unable to repulse them. Gordon himself met death without fear, and is said to have made a gesture of scorn when he received his mortal wound. The British force returned down-stream, for the fall of Khartum almost inevitably implied the abandonment of the Sudan. Oriental savagery had triumphed for a while, though Gordon's death made a profound impression on the British public and was destined to spur this country to action at a not very distant date. There can be no doubt that, to quote Lord Cromer's words, 'a great and inexcusable mistake was made in delaying for so long the despatch of the Gordon relief expedition'.* At the same time it would have been difficult for our forces to have engaged on a campaign of vengeance at this time. Within a very few years the re-organization of the Egyptian army under its British officers was to provide a fighting force with which the Sudan could once again be brought within the orbit of civilized government.

In June, 1885, the British expeditionary force was recalled and the southern frontier of Egypt was fixed at Wadi Halfa. Most of the isolated Egyptian garrisons were forced to surrender, though some of those in the eastern provinces were rescued by the Abyssinians, while the Mahdist forces entirely failed to

* *Vide Modern Egypt*, II, 33.

capture Emin Pasha in the fastnesses of Equatoria. The Mahdi himself died at Omdurman on June 22nd, 1885, and was succeeded by his chief general, the Khalifa Abdullah. Civil wars and devastation were now the order of the day, and fire and sword reigned in the Sudan. Four years later, however, a dervish army attempted to invade Egypt, but was badly beaten by the new Egyptian army under Sir Francis Grenfell. In spite of local risings against him, the Khalifa remained the dominant factor in his own territory, but a Mahdist offensive movement was now virtually impossible. The inhabitants of the Sudan suffered terribly under dervish rule. Land went out of cultivation and war, famine and disease between them killed millions of people. But the Khalifa could count upon the loyalty of the Baggara tribes to which he himself belonged, and the only really serious challenge to his rule was to come from outside.

Some light was thrown on conditions in the Upper Nile valley in the early 'nineties by the reports of two or three European prisoners of the dervishes who managed to make good their escape from Omdurman. In particular, the information brought by Slatin, who returned to Egypt early in 1895, showed how disastrous were the effects of Mahdist rule. The account he gave of the decimation of the Sudanese population and of the ravages of the Slave Trade, which received every encouragement from the Khalifa, had a profound effect upon the opinion of the civilized world. Moreover, it was abundantly clear that the safety and well-being

of Egypt could never be secured so long as anarchy and chaos persisted in the Sudan. British public opinion still smarted under the indignity of Gordon's death ten years earlier, while the defeat of the Italians at Adua in March, 1896, came as a serious blow to European prestige in North-East Africa. The combination of these factors led the British Government to decide upon a forward policy, and Sir Herbert Kitchener, Sirdar of the re-organized Egyptian army, was ordered to advance southwards in the summer of 1896. His plan of campaign was carried out with characteristic energy and thoroughness; it was in every sense a triumph of organization and technical efficiency. Dongola was occupied in September, and the army settled down for the winter at Merowe shortly afterwards. Operations were resumed on a large scale in the summer of 1897, both Abu Hamed and Berber being occupied by the end of August. Nothing was left to chance. Prior to the final advance on Khartum the railway had been pushed forward as far as Abu Hamed,* while the road from Suakin to Berber was re-opened, and operations in the Eastern Sudan led to the capture of Kassala before the end of the year. The River Atbara thus formed the northern limit of Mahdist influence. Meanwhile, the main Anglo-Egyptian army was being concentrated at Berber, and on April 8th, 1898, it soundly defeated the dervish forces under Mahmud

* The line from Wadi Halfa across the desert to Abu Hamed was begun on January 1st and completed on October 31st, 1897. The construction of 230 miles in ten months was, in itself, no mean achievement.

and Osman Digna at the battle of the Atbara. The Khalifa himself realized that the final trial of strength was now approaching, and busily collected a large army of from forty to fifty thousand men at his capital at Omdurman. The Anglo-Egyptian expeditionary force, which was cautiously making its way up-stream in the late summer, was set upon by the Khalifa in person some miles to the north-west of Omdurman, on September 2nd. The dervishes were thoroughly defeated, losing more than one-half of their warriors in killed and wounded, while the survivors fled into the desert. The Egyptian army amply justified the confidence which had been placed in it, and its conduct at the battle of Omdurman bears eloquent testimony to the efficiency and zeal with which it had been re-organized and disciplined by its British officers. The whole structure of Mahdist rule had been overthrown, though more than a year was still to elapse before the dervish fugitives had all been disposed of. The campaign may be said to have come to an end in November, 1899, when the Khalifa himself was finally rounded up and killed at the battle of Um Debreikat.* To make the military position doubly secure, the railway was pushed on rapidly from Abu Hamed, and finally reached Khartum on the last day of the year.

The re-conquest of the Sudan was not accomplished a moment too soon. While the Anglo-Egyptian army had been slowly advancing from the North, a French

* Osman Digna, the Mahdist leader in the Eastern Sudan, was captured in January, 1900.

expedition, ostensibly of a 'scientific' character, had made its way, in the face of the very greatest difficulties, from the Congo basin to the valley of the Upper Nile. Its leader, Captain Marchand, arrived at Fashoda (Kodok) in July, 1898, and proceeded to take possession of the surrounding country in the name of the French Government. Immediately the Khalifa had been overthrown at Omdurman, Kitchener hastened up the Nile to meet this new menace, sending a message to inform 'the Chief of the European expedition' of his victory over the Khalifa and of his own immediate arrival. Marchand replied that he had himself repulsed a dervish attack and had negotiated a treaty of protection with the local chieftain. His final word was a triumph of politeness. 'I offer you my best wishes on your arrival on the Upper Nile and shall be happy to welcome you at Fashoda in the name of France.' The Sirdar actually arrived on September 19th and politely but firmly protested against French encroachment upon territory within the dominions of the Khedive. He also pointed out that Marchand's little force was hopelessly outnumbered, and offered him transport down-stream on a British gunboat. The French commander, however, refused to haul down his flag without definite instructions from Paris, and a deadlock ensued. In Great Britain and France public opinion ran high, and the question of Fashoda threatened to lead to an international conflict of the first magnitude. Our claim to the Upper Nile was based upon two principal considerations: the restoration of Egyptian

authority over the Sudan, and the right of conquest. Fortunately the French Foreign Minister, Delcassé, was most anxious to establish friendly relations with Great Britain and announced, in November, that Fashoda would be evacuated. He later declared, with truth, that 'a conflict would have involved sacrifices disproportionate to the object'; but it was none the less apparent that France had suffered a spectacular humiliation. The crisis was finally brought to an end by the Anglo-French Declaration of March 21st, 1899. The watershed of the Nile and the Congo henceforth formed the frontier between the two countries, while a conventional line to the North recognized Darfur as being within the British, and Wadai within the French spheres. Darfur, Bahr-el-Ghazal and Kordofan were to form a free zone, and France was assured of unhindered commercial access to the Nile.

The authority of the new Government of the Sudan over the countries of the Upper Nile was thus recognized by the end of the last century. The frontiers of this hinterland were, however, but little known and formed the subject of further negotiations with the Governments of the adjoining territories. Although the Anglo-French Declaration of March, 1899, had established its western boundary, the Sudan Government exercised a merely nominal suzerainty over Darfur. Its Sultan, Ali Dinar, was recognized in 1899, and began to pay a small annual subsidy to Khartum two years later. He was a petty tyrant and a somewhat fanatical Mohammedan, but so long as he kept within his own

borders, he was not interfered with. The effective occupation of the adjoining territory of Wadai by the French in 1909, however, necessitated a more careful definition of the frontier and the concerting of measures for the suppression of the Slave Trade, which still flourished in these distant lands. Negotiations were proceeding satisfactorily, when they had perforce to be postponed at the outbreak of the World War. Turkish emissaries now succeeded in winning over Ali Dinar to their side, and early in 1916 he openly renounced his allegiance and prepared to invade the Sudan in collaboration with the attempted Senussi attack on Egypt. A punitive expedition was at once organized against him and occupied his capital of El Fasher in May. Before the end of the year his power had been completely overthrown and Darfur was incorporated in the Sudan. A supplementary agreement was concluded between France and Great Britain in 1919 which led to the definite fixing of the international boundary soon after.

The final delimitation of that part of the southern frontier which marches with the Belgian Congo was complicated by the fact that Great Britain had ceded to Leopold of the Belgians all its claims to territory lying to the North of the tenth parallel of N. latitude and to the East of 35° E. in May, 1894. At that time the Sudan was under dervish rule, while a few forts near Wadelai were the sole evidences of Belgian occupation. Twelve years later, however, all this had changed and a new agreement was made with the

Belgian King on May 9th, 1906. The boundaries of the Sudanese territories in his occupation—the so-called Lado Enclave—were defined anew, and it was decided that this tract should be leased to Leopold for his lifetime only. At the same time it was agreed that the Belgian fortified posts in the Bahr-el-Ghazal should be withdrawn, and the Nile-Congo watershed became the frontier to the West. Nine months after Leopold's death in December, 1909, the Lado Enclave was handed back to the Sudan and incorporated in the Mongalla Province.

These re-adjustments in the Sudan-Congo frontier called for some re-arrangement of territory with the Protectorate of Uganda. After the restoration of the Lado Enclave, some two hundred miles of the left bank of the Upper Nile belonged to the Sudan, while the corresponding tract on the right bank formed part of Uganda. This led to certain obvious inconveniences, and a Joint Commission was appointed by the two Governments in 1913 to consider an exchange of territory. As a result of their discussions, Nimule became the southernmost Sudanese post. Uganda thus acquired the country to the north of Albert Nyanza on the left bank of the Nile, but surrendered all her territory on the right bank between Dufile and Gondokoro. At the outbreak of the World War Uganda was faced with difficulties on her southern frontier, and Sudanese troops were called in to patrol the northernmost portions of the Protectorate. They also collaborated in 1915, and again in 1918, in expeditions

despatched against the wild Turkana tribes of the Lake Rudolf district.

The eastern frontier of the Sudan marches with Abyssinia and the Italian colony of Eritrea. It has been defined in a number of conventions, of which the most important was the treaty concluded with Abyssinia in 1902. In addition to the actual frontier, however, this agreement contained a stipulation of the very greatest importance both to the Sudan and to Egypt. The Emperor of Abyssinia undertook that no work of any kind should be constructed in his territory across the Blue Nile, the Sobat or Lake Tsana without the previous consent of the Governments of Great Britain and the Sudan. The vital question of water supply was thus safeguarded by international agreement. Unfortunately, however, the political frontier does not take account of ethnical divisions, and the eastern borderland of the Sudan has been the scene of brigandage, slave-raiding and illicit trade in arms. Relations with the Eritrean authorities have always been most cordial, but there can be no permanent solution until a strong government has been established in Abyssinia.

While these frontier arrangements were being made, the re-organization of the Sudan proper was proceeding with amazing rapidity under its new rulers. The country had been won back to civilization by a joint Anglo-Egyptian force, but there were many reasons why it should not simply be handed over to an Egyptian administration. The record of misgovernment

in the past was not such as to inspire confidence in Egyptian rule. It was, moreover, essential that the regime of the Capitulations, under which foreigners enjoyed extra-territorial rights by treaty throughout the dominions of the Khedive, should not be extended to the Sudan. These exclusive privileges had, indeed, already proved a sufficient hindrance to the work of the British reformers in Egypt proper. It was therefore resolved to institute an Anglo-Egyptian *condominium* in the country lying South of the twenty-second parallel of latitude, and this somewhat anomalous legal arrangement was defined in an agreement concluded between the British Government and the Government of the Khedive on January 19th, 1899. Throughout the Sudan the British and Egyptian flags were to be used together as an outward and visible sign of joint dominion. The supreme military and civil command was to be vested in the Governor-General, who was to be appointed by the Khedive on the recommendation of the British Government, and could only be removed with its consent. He was to be the sole law-making authority, and no Egyptian law or decree was to apply to the Sudan unless promulgated by him. No import duties were to be levied on goods coming from Egyptian territory, and in the case of goods coming from the Red Sea littoral duties should not exceed those levied on goods entering Egypt from abroad. Finally, the import and export of slaves were absolutely prohibited, and special attention was to be paid to the enforcement of the terms of the Brussels Act of 1890 in respect of

trade in firearms and liquor. This was the constitutional basis of the new Government of the Sudan. If it was a *condominium* in outward appearance, the real power was vested in the Governor-General, who was the nominee of Great Britain. In 1899 Sir Reginald Wingate was appointed to this key position and, during the seventeen years in which he held office, the foundations of sound government were well and truly laid. Although a Council of four ex-officio members, together with two to four nominated members, was set up in 1910 for his assistance, the Governor-General retained the power to over-rule their decisions and thus remained supreme.

In a territory like the Sudan, with an area of over one million square miles and a variegated population, which was estimated at two and three-quarter millions in 1911, and at something under five millions ten years later, it is not surprising that there should be very wide divergences between the different parts of the country. Amongst the nomads of the North, who are almost all Arabs, a common religion (Islam), a common language (Arabic) and a well-developed tribal consciousness combine to give a certain coherence and social solidarity to the inhabitants. In the centre of the country the Arabs still predominate, but the population is mainly sedentary and is much more influenced by negro blood. In the South, on the other hand, the negroid races are in overwhelming majority, and paganism reigns supreme. With such marked local variations it was natural that considerable latitude

should be given to the Provincial Governors; decentralization was the basic principle of the administration. It was natural too, having regard to the troubled times through which the country had passed, that the military element should at first predominate. The higher officials were mainly British army officers, though, as the years went by, an increasing number of civilian administrators were recruited from the British universities. The police officers and district magistrates (the so-called *Mamurs*), on the other hand, were almost exclusively Egyptians or native Sudanese of high rank, while the clerical and minor administrative posts came to be filled more and more by the local inhabitants. Gordon College was founded at Khartum in 1902 to provide instruction of a literary and technical character for the future native administrative staff and for the teachers in the vernacular schools (*Kuttabs*) which have been set up in ever-increasing numbers. The legal codes of the country, issued in 1899 and 1900, were based, for the most part, on Indian models, while Mohammedan law is administered, in civil cases arising between Moslems, in Courts specially instituted for the purpose. The Government of the Sudan, in its educational and judicial policy, no less than in the restrictions it has placed upon the activities of Christian missionaries, has done much to placate Moslem opinion. In consequence, the loyalty of the Mohammedan population was amply proven during the World War, in spite of all attempts at Turkish propaganda. The only exception was the rising in Darfur in 1916, but

that province, as we have seen, had not then been brought under the administrative control of Khartum. In the pagan as in the Mohammedan districts, customary native law was definitely recognized 'so far as applicable and not repugnant to justice, equity and good conscience'.

Such, in very broad outline, were the principal features of the new system established by Sir Reginald Wingate in the Sudan. In place of the chaos and brutal irregularities of Mahdist rule, the whole country was brought under ordered government and peace reigned almost unbroken over these vast territories. With the exception of certain lawless areas near the eastern frontier, the Slave Trade has been stamped out, and slavery itself is slowly dying a natural death. A number of fanatics have indeed attempted to raise the standard of revolt under cover of religious enthusiasm, but, with the exception of a rising in 1908, which took some months to fade away completely, these minor outbreaks have met with but little response from the mass of the population and have been suppressed with ease. With peace the new Government also brought improved transport facilities. Roads were built, steamers were placed on the principal waterways, and railway communication was established between Atbara and Port Sudan, a distance of over three hundred miles, in 1905. Khartum thus obtained an alternative, and much more direct, outlet to the sea, and trade and revenue expanded considerably in consequence. Six years later the line from Khartum to Sennar was extended to

El Obeid, and the capital of Kordofan was thereby brought within easy reach of administrative headquarters.

Sir Reginald Wingate resigned his position on January 1st, 1917. To him, more than to any other man, is due the credit for the political, economic and social regeneration of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The services of Sir Rudolf von Slatin Pasha, the Austrian soldier who escaped from the clutches of the Khalifa in 1895 and was Inspector-General of the Government from 1901 till the outbreak of the World War forced him to resign in 1914, were, however, of the very greatest value. His knowledge of the country was probably unique, and he acted as principal adviser to the Governor-General on all native questions throughout his term of office. While of obvious benefit to the native population, the new administration of the Sudan was also of the greatest value to Egypt. Her southern frontier was now secure, she shared in the increased trade of the Upper Nile valley, much of which passed over the Egyptian railway system, and also collected taxes on goods imported into the Sudan from the North. In return for this she made grants-in-aid, the highest figure being £E417,000 in 1900, to cover the deficit on the Sudanese budget. It was not, indeed, until 1913 that Government revenue sufficed to meet ordinary expenditure in the Sudan, though a considerable proportion of the Egyptian contribution was used to pay the Egyptian garrisons at Khartum and elsewhere.

In 1917 Sir Lee Stack followed Wingate as Acting-Sirdar and Governor-General, and was confirmed in these positions two years later. He gave his full support to an active policy of development in irrigation and railway construction, while, in the beginning of 1921, he instituted a plan for granting the natives a still larger share in the management of their own affairs. 'Our object, in brief', he wrote, 'is to leave administration as far as possible in the hands of native authorities, wherever they exist, under the supervision of the Government, starting from things as it finds them, putting its veto on what is dangerous and unjust, and supporting what is fair and equitable in the usage of the natives.'* The policy thus outlined had two main aspects. In the first place, natives were to be appointed to governmental posts with direct administrative duties. Of even greater significance, however, was the regularization of the exercise, by native chiefs, of certain powers over members of their own tribes. Even in the Southern Sudan, where conditions were most backward, native institutions existed in some form or other, and only needed 'patient and careful nursing to make them of practical administrative value'. On the other hand in Dar Masalit, in Western Darfur, where the influence of Khartum had but recently been established, a well-developed native State system already existed. This was recognized, and a separate native administration was organized, with a budget of its own.

* Report for 1921. Cmd. 1837 (1923), p. 6.

The post-war years were a period of the greatest unrest in Egypt. The suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey had come to an end in 1914, when a British Protectorate was established in its place. The ferment of the War and the growth of prosperity, however, had encouraged the nationalist aspirations of important sections of the population, and in 1922 the British Government issued a decree which recognized Egyptian independence. At the same time, four points were 'absolutely reserved to the discretion of H.M. Government until such time as it may be possible by free discussion and friendly accommodation to conclude agreements in regard thereto.... Pending such agreements the *status quo* in all these matters shall remain intact'. One of these reserved subjects was the Sudan, which was therefore not affected by the change in the legal status of Egypt. This unilateral declaration on the part of Great Britain was, however, far from satisfying the Egyptian extremists. Affairs were getting out of hand, and the lawless elements in the population asserted themselves more and more. Matters came to a head on November 19th, 1924, when Sir Lee Stack, the Sirdar and Governor-General of the Sudan, was murdered in broad daylight in the streets of Cairo. Nothing could justify so foul a deed, and the British Government at once presented an ultimatum insisting upon the immediate withdrawal from the Sudan of all Egyptian officers and all Egyptian units in the army. This was, indeed, a most urgent matter, since the Egyptian garrison at Khartum had mutinied, though

this subversive movement was fortunately suppressed with relative ease and the situation in the Sudan had become quite normal by the end of November. The Sudan Defence Force was organized in the following January, and the protection of the country is now entrusted solely to Sudanese and Arab units. The dastardly murder of Sir Lee Stack thus ushered in a new era in which the Egyptian connection with the Sudan has been reduced to a minimum. His name will, however, remain in Sudanese history as that of the inaugurator of 'indirect rule', a system which is now well established in administrative policy.

There has been a remarkable development of the economic potentialities of the country of recent years. Early in 1924 a branch railway from Haiya, on the Atbara-Port Sudan line, was constructed as far as Kassala, and this place was linked up, in turn, with Gedaref four years later. The great dam across the Blue Nile at Sennar was completed in 1925, and the rich lands of the Gezira were thus enabled to be brought under more intensive cultivation. This colossal undertaking cost over £11,000,000 to construct. The irrigated land is owned by the native cultivators, but the Government provides the water, and the Sudan Plantations Syndicate acts as its managing agents and gins and markets the cotton crop. The scheme is worked on a co-partnership basis, the receipts from the sale of cotton being divided as to 40 per cent. to the cultivator, 35 per cent. to Government, and 25 per cent. to the Syndicate. In addition

to his receipts from cotton, which he normally grows on one-third of his land, the peasant proprietor obtains a greatly increased supply of dura and more feed for his animals. The country as a whole naturally benefits from the expansion of an important export crop. Irrigation schemes are also being inaugurated elsewhere, and there can be little doubt as to the wisdom of the British policy of giving an interest guarantee on approved loans raised by the Sudan Government for productive expenditure.

Since 1898 the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan has been ruled by a Governor-General who is a virtual dictator. No Acts affecting its internal administration have been passed by the British Parliament, and such control as has existed has been exercised by the Foreign Office. Its legal status at International Law is as anomalous as is its constitutional position. The system has, however, justified itself by its results. The devotion and ability of a small but carefully chosen élite of British administrators has reduced order out of chaos, and has evolved a system of 'indirect rule' which, together with its original prototype in Nigeria, may well come to rank as the greatest contribution of our race to the prosperity and well-being of the African Continent.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY

	(In thousands)		(Million £)		
	Area (sq. miles)	Popula- tion (1921)	Im- ports* (1927)	Ex- ports* (1927)	Re- venue (1927)
WEST AFRICA					
Gambia	4.0	211	0.9	0.9	0.3
Sierra Leone	30.0	1,541	2.1	1.5	0.7
Gold Coast	91.7	2,298	13.8	14.2	4.4
Nigeria	367.9	18,631	15.7	16.3	8.2†
Total: West Africa	493.6	22,681	32.5	32.9	13.6
EAST AFRICA					
Southern Rhodesia	148.6	899	7.6	6.3	0.4‡
Northern Rhodesia	291.0	984	2.0	0.7	0.5‡
Nyasaland	37.9	1,202	0.3	0.9	1.8*‡
Tanganyika	373.5	4,123	3.7	3.3	0.3
Kenya	245.0	2,574	9.0	5.4	2.4†
Uganda	110.3	2,922			1.3†
Zanzibar	1.0	209	1.8	1.3	0.5
British Somaliland	68.0	347	0.4	0.4	0.1§
Total: East Africa	1,275.3	13,260	24.8	18.2	7.3
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN } SUDAN }	1,014.6	4,853	6.3	5.0	5.7
TOTAL: BRITISH } TROPICAL AFRICA }	2,783.5	40,794	63.6	56.1	26.6

* Merchandise and bullion and specie combined.

† Figures for 1926.

‡ Year ending March 31st.

§ Nine months only.

|| Rupees converted into sterling at the rate of 1s. 6d.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THE annual reports of the various British Dependencies often contain most important material for the historian. The same is also true of many of the Official Handbooks published by the various governments, and of the *Dominions Office and Colonial Office List* (annual). Some of the handbooks prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, published in 1920, deal with Tropical Africa and provide useful introductions to the history of the British Colonies and Protectorates, while the Admiralty Handbooks deserve more than a passing reference.

The following list of books has been made as brief as possible, and, with the exception of two short works in French, no foreign books have been included. This rigorous process of selection will, it is hoped, provide a useful introductory bibliography, though it has necessitated the omission of many most valuable works.

General

1. LUCAS, Sir CHARLES. *The Partition and Colonization of Africa*. (1922.)

This small volume contains the substance of a course of lectures given by a veteran Colonial historian. It provides an excellent introduction to the European history of Africa.

2. JOHNSTON, Sir H. H. *A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races*. (Reprint, 1905.)

A useful summary of European penetration down to the Anglo-French Agreements of 1904 by a well-known traveller and administrator.

3. HARDY, GEORGES. *Vue générale de l'Histoire d'Afrique*. (1922.)

An interesting attempt, by a French Colonial official, to present the main facts of African history from the African, rather than the European point of view.

4. GAFFAREL, PAUL. *Notre Expansion Coloniale en Afrique de 1870 à nos jours.* (1918.)
A somewhat crowded summary of the growth of the French African Empire since the Franco-Prussian War.
5. LUGARD, The Right Hon. Sir F. D. (Lord). *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa.* (3rd ed. 1926.)
A classic work on the principles of administration in the Tropics which is of paramount interest to the historian no less than to the political scientist and to the administrator.
6. BUELL, R. L. *The Native Problem in Africa.* (2 vols. 1928.)
These two large volumes, of over a thousand pages each, embody the researches of an American professor in the British, French and Belgian Colonies, and in Liberia. Several of the sections contain valuable historical material.

West Africa

7. LUCAS, Sir C. P. *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies.* Vol. III. West Africa. (3rd ed. Revised by A. B. Keith. 1913.)
When first published in 1893 this was virtually a pioneer work. The attempt to keep it up to date in successive editions by other hands has, however, somewhat destroyed the unity of the work, though it is still most useful.
8. MCPHEE, ALLAN. *The Economic Revolution in British West Africa.* (1926.)
This book gives a good account of the economic development of the four Colonies and their Dependencies, more especially since the 'nineties of the last century.
9. REEVE, H. F. *The Gambia: Its History, Ancient, Medieval and Modern, etc.* (1912.)
About one-third of this volume deals with the history of our oldest African Settlement, but the events of the past fifty years are hardly touched on at all.
10. BUTT-THOMPSON, F. W. *Sierra Leone in History and Tradition.* (1926.)
A useful survey of the earlier history of the Colony together with many details of its leading inhabitants during the last hundred years.

11. CLARIDGE, W. W. *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*. (2 vols. 1915.)

This most thorough study, by a former medical officer, gives a detailed account of the history of the Gold Coast down to the end of the last century.

12. GUGGISBERG, Sir F. G. *The Gold Coast: A Review of the Events of 1920-1926*. (Accra, 1927.)

A survey of administration during the important post-war years by the then Governor.

13. GEARY, Sir W. N. M. *Nigeria under British Rule*. (1927.)

This book, by a former member of the Lagos bar, contains a mass of information which it would not be easy to find elsewhere.

14. LUGARD, Lady. *A Tropical Dependency*. (1905.)

An admirable account of the earlier history of the peoples of the Western Sudan and of the establishment of British rule in Northern Nigeria.

15. ORR, Capt. C. W. J. *The Making of Northern Nigeria*. (1911.)

This interesting book contains a description of the events leading up to the conquest, and of the early days of British administration by a former political officer in Northern Nigeria.

16. LUGARD, Sir F. D. (Lord). *Report on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration, 1912-1919*. Cmd. 468. 1919.

This report gives a very clear account of the problems facing Nigeria during a most important period in its history.

East Africa

17. HOLE, H. MARSHALL. *The Making of Rhodesia*. (1926.)

This is the standard history of Rhodesia down to the end of the nineteenth century.

18. JOHNSTON, Sir H. H. *British Central Africa*. (1897.)

A comprehensive description of Nyasaland by the first British Commissioner for the Protectorate. Chapters III (History) and IV (The Founding of the Protectorate) are of most interest to the historian.

19. McDERMOTT, P. L. *British East Africa or Ibea*. (1895.)

This semi-official history of the Imperial British East Africa Company gives a good account of the early days of British penetration.

20. LUGARD, General (Lord). *The Story of Uganda Protectorate*. (The Story of the Empire Series. No date.)

An outline of the history and institutions of the inland Protectorate and of the events leading up to the establishment of British rule, by the first Administrator under the Company.

21. ROSS, W. MCGREGOR. *Kenya from Within*. (1927.)

A short but valuable historical introduction is followed by an account of the political problems of the Colony, more especially since the War.

22. DRAKE-BROCKMAN, R. E. *British Somaliland*. (1912.)

This book gives an interesting picture of the Protectorate and an outline of its historical development.

23. CROMER, Earl of. *Modern Egypt*. (2 vols. 1908.)

This classic on the British connection with Egypt is indispensable for the history of the Sudan from the days of Gordon to the final establishment of British rule.

24. BUDGE, Sir E. A. W. *The Egyptian Sudan. Its History and Monuments*. (2 vols. 1907.)

This standard work gives an exhaustive survey of Sudanese history and archaeology.

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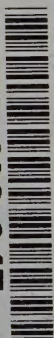
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